



CONTENTS

No. 25

PAGE

1. "QISSEH-I ZARTUSHTIAN-I HINDUSTAN VA BAYAN-I
ATASH BEHRAM-I NAOSARI," BY THE LATE SHAMS-
UL-ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
KT., LL.D. 1
2. "ZARATHUSTRA AND ZOROASTRIANISM IN MACOU-
DI'S KITAB-I MURUJ AL-ZAHAB VA MA'ADAN
AL-JAUHAR (BOOK OF MEADOWS OF GOLD AND
MINES OF JEWELS)," BY THE LATE DR. SIR
JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT., LL.D. ... 148
3. "A NOTE ON THE CLIMATE OF IRAN," BY THE
LATE DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT.
LL.D. 156
- REPORT OF THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
FOR THE YEAR, 1932 159
- ACCOUNTS OF THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL
INSTITUTE FOR THE YEAR 1932 180

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This is the last number of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute I am editing. I am now running my 79th year of age and am verging on the 80th. So, under medical advice, I am to keep away as much as possible from mental work. While retiring from the Editorial Chair, I pray to be excused for shortcomings in the Journal. If any merits were seen let God be thanked for them. I beg to tender my best thanks to all the contributors who have kindly contributed with or without my asking contributions. I beg to thank Mr. Khodabux Edalji Punegar, B.A., the Librarian of the Institute, for all the help that he has given me in editing the Journal.

May God bless the Journal.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI

*Pilot Bunder Road, Colaba,
Bombay, 21st January 1933.*

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi edited and published the first number of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute on the 3rd June, 1922. Before retiring he published twenty-four numbers of the Journal, containing important material which has been appreciated by the Iranists of the world. This No. 25, containing very important articles from Sir Jivanji's pen, comes out after his passing away on the 28th March, 1933. He had gone through pages 1-48 himself; the remaining pages have been revised by the undersigned.

There will be but one opinion on the good work done by Sir Jivanji as the Editor of this Journal, dedicating the last eleven precious years of his busy life in drudgery such as that of the publication of research work, and posterity will with one voice accord their unanimous approbation of his noble mission. There is a good deal which awaits publication as Sir Jivanji's posthumous work and it is to be wished that there will be the least possible delay in carrying it through the press.

B. T. ANKLESARIA

22nd December, 1933.

قصه زرتشتیان هندوستان

و

بیان آتش بهرام نوساری

QISSEH-I ZARTÜSHTIÂN-I HINDÜSTÂN

VA

BAYAN-I ÂTASH BEHRÂM-I NAOSARI.

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT.,

(Continued from Journal No. 19, p. 57.)

VI

PLACES, PERSONAGES AND EVENTS MENTIONED IN THE QISSEH.

Having given a brief version of our Qisseh, I will now speak of the following:—

- I. The Places mentioned in the Qisseh.
- II. The Personages, (a) Iranian and (b) Indian, mentioned in the Qisseh.
- III. The Events mentioned in the Qisseh.

I—PLACES MENTIONED IN THE QISSEH. A FEW NOTES ON THEM FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF EARLY PARSEE HISTORY.

I will give in this section a few notes on the places mentioned in the Qisseh. Most of the places bear names which are the same as, or similar to, their modern names. So, very little is to be said from a geographical point as to

A List of the
Places mentioned
in the Qisseh.

their identification. But, many of them require some observations from the point of view of the early history of the Parsees. I will submit, in brief, these observations, mostly for the early period preceding the events mentioned in the Qisseh. The places named are the following:

1. Kashmir, c. (couplet) 51.
2. Place of the Dargâh-i Shâhanshâh (Balkh), c. 58.
3. Kohistân, c. 109.
4. Hormuz, c. 111.
5. Hindustan, c. 130.
6. Dib (Diu), c. 139.
7. Gujarat, c. 144.
8. Sanjan, c. 146.
9. Bânkânir, c. 199.
10. Bahruch, c. 199.
11. Anklisar, c. 200.
12. Khambâyat, c. 200.
13. Naosari, c. 201.
14. Rûd-i Pâr, c. 207.
15. Rûd-i Dantûr, c. 207.
16. Rûd-i Baryâv, c. 210.
17. Deh-i Bulsâr, c. 227.
18. Kuh-i Baharât, c. 269.
19. Bansdeh, c. 271.
20. Surat, c. 338.
21. Sungar, c. 464.
22. Udwareh, c. 499.
23. Munbai, c. 585.

Kashmir is not our modern Kashmir. The name Kashmir (کشمیر) is miswritten here, as in some other Parsi¹ writings, for Kashmar (کشمَر). Tradition, as

¹ Kashmir.
c. 51.

1 Gujarati Rehbar-i-Din-i. Zarthoshti (રિહબારે દીને ઝરથોસ્તી) by Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherjirana, p. 40.

recorded in later books as in this, says that Zoroaster brought to the Court of King Gushtasp, together with 21 nasks or books and an ever-burning fire, a branch of a tree. This tree is that of Kashmar of Persia and not of Kashmir of India. I have spoken on this subject at some length, pointing out the error in names in my paper on Kashmir,¹ suggested to me by my first visit of Kashmir. The Dabistan² seems to have first made the mistake and misled others. Firdousi gives the name properly as Kashmar.³ According to Ousley, this tree reminds us of "that extraordinary triple tree, planted by the Patriarch Abraham and existing until the death of Christ."⁴

Our author does not name the place of the Court of King Gushtasp, where Zoroaster visited him. But we know from other sources that the place was the Bâkhdi (بکدی) of the Avesta,⁵ Bakhtri of the Cuneiform Inscriptions,⁶ Bakhar or Bakhhal of the Pahlavi writers⁷ and Balkh of the early and later Mahomedan writers.⁸ As Prof.

1 *Vide* my paper "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians" (Jl. B.B. R.A.S., Vol. XIX, pp. 237-48. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part I, p. 110.)

2 The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 306-9.

3 Vuller's Ed. III, p. 1497.

4 Travels in Persia, Vol. I, p. 389.

5 Vendidad I, 7.

6 Darius's Inscription of Behistun, col. 1, 6; Tolman's Guide to Old Persian Inscriptions, p. 55.

7 Pahlavi Vendidad, Chap. 1, 7; Dastur Hoshang Jamasp's Text, p. 7.

8 (a) Firdousi. Le Livre des Rois, par M. Mohl, II, p. 41; (b) Tabari, traduit par Zotenberg, p. 277; (c) Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, II, p. 119.

Darmesteter derives it, the name Balkh is derived¹ from Avesta Bākhdi.

Zoroaster was born at Amui or Amvi² in the district on the border of the lake of Urumiah (Chāechasta of the Avesta) in Azarbaizān, but he promulgated his religion, at first, in Balkh. The Pahlavi Shatroiā-i-Airan includes it in Khorassan. Maçoudi, Yakout³ and Mirkhond⁴ attribute its foundation to Lohrasp, the father of Gustasp.⁵

The Kohistān, lit. the country of mountains, referred to here, is the Kohistān in Khorassan.

3. Kohistān. c. 109. The limit of Khorassan itself varies, according to different writers and at different times. Kinnar gives for its boundaries the Oxus on the N. E. and East, Cabul and Seistan to the south, and to the west Iraq, Astarabād and Dapastar.⁶ The same is the case with Kohistān. Kohistān includes the provinces of Gilan, Mazenderān and Tabaristān. As to how the fugitive Zoroastrians continued to live in Iran pretty safely,

1 For the derivation of the name and for further particulars about Balkh, *vide* my paper "A Few Materials for a Chapter in the Early History of Bactria, collected from some Iranian Sources" (Journal of the B.B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1-13. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 106-118. *Vide* in my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," the word Bākhdi.

2 *Vide* my paper on "The Birth place of Zoroaster" in Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 9, pp. 1-113. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers", pp. 129-241. For an account of my visit to this village, now a Kurdish village, *vide* my Gujarati "Book of Travels" 1926, pp. 290-92.

3 Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, II, p. 121.

4 Shea's Mirkhond, p. 59; Naval Kishore's Lucknow Edition, I, p. 150. Some attribute its formation to Kayomars and Kaus.

5 For a fuller account of the city, *vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part I, pp. 155, 195-96.

6 Kinnar's Geographical Memoirs of the Persian Empire, p. 139. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 149 etc.

and as to how some Zoroastrian dynasties, known as that of the Bâw and Gâobarah Sephabuds continued to rule in Kohistân, we read as follows from the pen of Prof. Rehatsek:—"The reason why several of these little sovereigns managed to subsist.....and why at least the Bâw and Gâobârah Sephabuds succeeded in maintaining themselves in the Kôhestân or 'mountain region' must be sought in the rugged and wild character of a land full of jungles, rocks and precipices, as well as of malarious plains; in the independent nature of mountaineers; and in the struggles of the Abbaside Khalifs with various rebels, who sometimes so fully engaged their forces that the princes of Tabaristân and Mâzenderân had opportunities of temporarily throwing off the yoke of their conquerors."¹

Hormuz in the Persian Gulf was a great emporium of trade upto the 17th to 18th centuries.

4. Hormuz.
c. 111.

There were two places, close to each other, known by this name. One was the city of Hormuz, situated on the main land. Another was the island of Hormuz, close by. The Hormuz, referred to in our Qisseh, is not the island but the city (شهر هرمز). The Qisseh-i Sanjan also speaks of it as Shehir-i Hormuz. It was the port for the city of Kerman. Formerly, it served as a port for Sijistan and Khorassan. According to Yakout, some authors spoke of it as Hormuz (هرموز).² Its riches gave rise to a saying "If the earth

1 Rehatsek's paper "The Bâw and Gâobarah Sephabuds along the Southern Caspian shores". (Jour. B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XII, pp. 410-15). For a brief outline of this paper, *vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. Society, during the last 100 years, from a Parsee Point of View," pp. 79-82. *Vide* The Centenary Volume of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society.

2 Dictionnaire de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 595.

is a ring, Hormaz is its jewel."¹

Hindustan is the Iranian name of India. Strange to find that, Hindus, the inhabitants of
 5. Hindustan. c. Hindustan, have taken the names, both of
 180. their country and themselves, from the Iranian name. The original Avesta name for the north-western part of the country, watered by the great Indus (the Sindhu of our Hindu brethren) was Hapta-Hindu, corresponding to the Sapt-Sindhu of Hindu writers. It is the Iranian name, which has given to the westerners, the name of "India". The proper Indian name of the country would be Sindhustan instead of Hindustan, which Indian name is still preserved in the name of the river Sindhu which waters it, and in the name of Sind which is watered by it. Hindustan was known to the Iranians from very ancient times, both for its trade and culture. We learn some interesting facts about such relations from the Paikuli Inscriptions recently described by Prof. Herzfeld. As said by Prof. Herzfeld:—"At the end of the inscription, we meet among the independent princes who congratulate Narseh on his accession, a great number of princes whom, with greater or lesser certainty, we must consider as Indian Śakas. In the second group of princes of royal rank, we have Bérúwán i Spandár(á)tán, the Páradán sháh, perhaps Varázgárte Sháh, the king of Ábhírā, and probably Síká..., whose name is incomplete, whose title is missing"² So, at the time of the Arab conquest, some Parsees fled in the direction of China, in the company of a son of Yazdagard,

1 Bombay Gazetteer, IX, Part II, Gujarat population, p. 183. *Vide* separate publication by Seervai and Patel, p. 1.

2 "Paikuli: Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire." By Ernst Herzfeld (Berlin 1924), Chap. III: The Early History of the Sasanian Empire, p. 43.

and the band referred to by our author came to India.¹ Persia was, as well said by a writer, 'an ante-chamber for the spread of the culture of India to the West'.²

We find the first record of a priest having been sent from Naosari, with a letter by Dastur 6. Dib (Diu). c. Asdin Kaka, to officiate among the Parsee laymen there. It seems that during the very first emigration, when the Parsees left Diu after a stay of 5 years for Sanjan, some Parsees must have stayed there.³ Diu continued to be under the Panthak or ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Naosari, until some time before 1826. Mr. Jehangirjee and Nowroji Nusserwanji Wadia of Bombay, one of whom was a member of the then Parsi Panchayet of Bombay, founded there a Fire-temple in 1830 A.C. and a Tower of Silence in 1833. The Tower is situated on a beautiful place on the top of a hill close to the shores of the great Arabian Sea.

1 For an account of India, as known in the times of the Avesta, *vide* my paper, entitled "India in the Avesta of the Parsees read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Jour. Bengal As. Society, New Series, Vol. IX, No. 10, pp. 427-36. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 201-210).

2 For a brief account of the relations of Persia with India from very old times down to later times, *vide* "Gujarati Parsees" by Seervai and Patel, pp. 1-2, No. 4. Bombay Gazetteer, IX, Part II, pp. 183-84.

3 We find a reference to Diu as being in the panthak or ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Naosari in an old document of Samvat 1672 (about 1615 A.C.) *Vide* Mr. Fardunji Ratanji Kanga's Gujarati History of the Bhagarsath Anjuman (1932), p. 23.

I had the pleasure of visiting the island of Diu on 12th March 1931, when it seemed to me, that the few Parsees, who still lived there, were possibly the remnants of the descendants of the first comers. They were mostly poor. The one principal place, that drew my attention, was a place within a very peculiar formation of a hill, about 2 miles from the town, where the Parsees annually went upto a few years ago for the celebration of the Gahambar. The late Ervad

The few Parsees, who live there at present, seem to be the descendants of the first-comers. This appears from the fact, that, in their letter of appeal for help to the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay in 1826, they said that they (owing to long isolation and separation) were on the point of losing all touch with Parsee religion (હમારે હાથ માજદીઆશની દીનાને રાકરે કુશતી મહજબથી જરતેઆશત પેગમ્બરને દીનથી ગણાજ નાચાર છઈએ ને હમારે હાથે આપણો મહજબ રહેઓ નાથી છેક મહજબથી જતા રેશુ અને ગના નાચાર અને નાએલાજ ઈઆને પશેમાન છેએ").¹

The early Achaemenian rulers, Cyrus and Darius and his successors, had some relations with
 7 Gujarat c. India. This was more in the direction
 144. of Punjab and of the country of the North-Western frontiers. But, in later times, the Sasanians had relations with the countries on the Western coast of India, and among them, more especially with Gujarat. Prof. Herzfeld's very valuable work at Paikuli has thrown some important light on this question and shown that the Persian rule had, at one time, advanced to the Western part of India. In the Pahlavi Inscriptions at Paikuli, the learned Professor has traced the names of several Hindu kings. So, Gujarat was known to them. Gujarat derives its name from the Gujjars, a people who had come from the direction of Persia.² So the Parsees, when they came to and landed in

Tehmuras D. Anklesaria thought that they were visited for the performance of Jashans (*Vide* for his views my "Glimpse into the History and Work of the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandli" (1922), pp. 50-51.) Diu passed from the hands of the Sultan of Deccan into the hands of the Portuguese some time before 1561 A.C. (*Vide* my account of my visit to Diu in the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, March 1931.)

1 *Vide* my Gujarati History of the Parsee Panchayet (પારસી પંચાયેતની તવારીખ), Vol. I, p. 406.

2 *Vide* "The Gujarat Parsees" by Kharshedji N. Seervai and B. B. Pate¹, a reprint from the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. IX, Part II, on Gujarat Population, pp. 183 *et seq.*

Gujarat, came to a country well known to them.¹

Sanjan, the place of the very first settlement of the Parsees in India, after the Arab conquest of Persia, is referred to in some Silhâra grants of India, under the name of Hamyamana (anjuman in Persian). This name, which seems to mean, a people or community living together in one place, points to the fact that the Parsees had founded a separate settlement there.²

The Bankanir referred to here is not the Vankaner of Kathiawar, but it is the Kankaner, in the district round Bardoli.

According to our Qisseh, the Emigration of the Parsees to Bahruch or Broach, took place in 1090 A.D. Broach seems to have been known to the Persians from very early times:—

(a) It seems to have passed into the hands of Parthian princes, known by the name of Sâhs or Kshatrapas Rudradâmans. Gîrnâr Inscriptions dated in the year seventy-two probably of the Sâka era (A.D. 150) states this distinctly and the occurrence of Sâha's coins in the Broach District confirms it.³

1 *Vide* my Lecture, entitled “ગુજરાતને નામ આપનારા ગુજરાતી” (The Gujjars who gave name to Gujarat,) delivered before the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad on 24th June 1929. *Vide* my Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Vishayô (in the Press), Part V, pp. 39 *et seq.*

2 *Vide* my paper entitled “The Ancient Name of Sanjan” (The Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 167. *Vide* my “Asiatic Papers”, Part I, pp. 201-16. *Vide* Prof. S. H. Hodivala's paper entitled ‘Jadî Rana and the Kisseh-i Sanjan.’ *Vide* my “Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan,” pp. 16-18.

3 Bombay Gazetteer, Surat and Broach, Vol. II, p. 464.

(b) The Parthian King Menander (about B.C. 126) held paramount authority in Savrashttra and according to Periplus his coins were current in Broach in the first century A.C.¹

(c) According to Wilford, King Gadha-rupa, referred to in the Agni Puran, was the Sasanian King Behramgore. He says that Hindus "shew to this day (1809) the place where he (Behramgore or Gadha-rupa) lived, about one day's march to the north of Baroach with the ruins of his palace".²

These facts lead to show that Broach must have been known to Persia long time before the Parsees first went there in large numbers in 1090.

Anklesar is a Parsee town on the bank of the Nera-badah opposite to Broach. It is still a

11. Anklesar, c. 200. Parsee centre. It was a seat of some learned Parsee priests because we find it mentioned in the colophons of some Parsee books. Our author omits the name of Bariav (بریاء) which occurs in the Qisseh-i Sanjan after Broach and before Anklesar.

Kambayat (کنبات) is Cambay, known as Khambât (خمبات). According to the Qisseh, the

12. Kambayat, c. 200. Parsees first went there in 1090 A.C. A Mahomedan author, Maulânâ Nurud-din Muhammad Ufi, says in his book Jawâmi' ul Hikâyât wa Lawâmi' ul Riwayât (i.e., Collections of Stories and Illustrations of Histories³) that Parsees lived in Cambay at the end of the 11th century. Muhammad

1 Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, pp. 35-36.

2 Vide Asiatic Researches, IX, pp. 147-151.

3 Vide Elliot's History of India according to Mahomedan Writers, Vol. II, pp. 162-64. The above author Ufi lived in Delhi under Altamash in 1211 A.C. (*Ibid.* p. 156).

Ufi, who wrote the above, had personally gone to Cambay in the time of King Jai Singh (1094-1143), who ruled there.¹ So, he seems to speak on the authority of what he heard there and thus supports the statements of the Qisseh. It seems that some few persons may have gone there on business, even before the above migration of a large band. The successful stay and business there of these few Parsees seems to have drawn a larger band when the general dispersion took place.²

Cambay seems to have become a prosperous settlement of the Parsees. This appears from the colophons at the end of the Pahlavi texts published by Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji.³ A Parsee, Châhil Âtar by name, seems to have grown rich there. He sent for Meherban Kaikhusru, a competent scribe, from Persia to India, to copy Pahlavi Text in the Samvat year 1377, *i.e.*, 1321 A.C. Prof. Shapurshah H. Hodiwala, referring to the colophons of some old Mss., says: "The explicit mention in them of a fairly wealthy Behdin of Cambay and the Roznâmak of so many as six of his ancestors prove that the tradition about Cambay having been one of the oldest Parsi settlements.....is demonstrably correct."⁴

Even at present several Parsee families of Bombay bear the surname of Khambatta, *i.e.*, of Khambat or of

1 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, Rewa Kantha, Nârukot, Cambay and Surat States, p. 215.

2 For a fuller account of this migration to Cambay, *vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," pp. 18-21.

3 "Pahlavi Texts I from an ancient Manuscript of Mehr Awan Kaikhusru," (MK) by Dastur Jamaspjee Minocherjee Jamasp Asa.

4 Studies in Parsi History (1920), p. 127. *Vide* also Prof. Hodiwala's lectures on "The Old Parsi Settlements of Cambay" (*Vide* K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Publication Parsi History" (1926), pp. 1-38.

Cambay, thus showing that it was a flourishing Parsee settlement, upto about 200 years ago. A known Parsee from this City, Mr. Modi had served Peshwa in, as late as, the 18th century.¹

According to Lieut. H. D. Robertson's "Historical Narrative of the City of Cambay,"² the ancient name of Cambay was Kooarka Kheshitar (Kumārikā Khshetra). He says:—"The holy temple of Kooarka was surrounded by a small town, to which the Parsees repaired at first in small numbers, but afterwards in greater, from the report of the profits of their brethren. They at length increased to so great a body that they outnumbered the original inhabitants."³ Robertson then says—he gives no authority but he seems to have heard this story there—that they harassed the Hindus, who had to fly. But, they, later on, under the leadership of a Bania from Surat, returned with Rajpoots and Kooles⁴ "in the night attacked the Parsees, putting many to the sword, and setting fire to their houses. The rest took to flight and not a Parsee was to be seen in Kooarka Kheshiter (Cambay)"⁵ The very fact, that the Parsees continued to live there in large numbers till the last century, that one of them had risen to a position of some influence with the Peshwas and the British Government, and the very fact that some Parsees still live there, show that there seems to be much exaggeration in the narrative

1 *Vide* my paper in the Journal (Dob) of Dastur Hohang Jamasp School of 1932.

2 "Historical Narrative of the City of Cambay from Sanskrit and Persian books and oral tradition submitted to Government on the 13th September 1813," published in 1856 in "The Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government" (No. XXVI, New Series), compiled and edited by R. Hughes Thomas.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 52-53.

4 *Ibid.* p. 53.

5 *Vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," p. 21.

of some incident of a quarrel. The Parsees of Cambay had a brick Tower of Silence at first, but the first Tower of stone was built some time before 1535.¹ A Cambay Parsee named Kāmdin Shāpur was sent by the Broach Parsees to Persia in 1559 to fetch varas (hair of the sacred bull) and religious books from there.²

According to Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai,³ Naosari had, at one time or another, seven different names. Two of these seven names are associated with, or known among, the Parsees. One is Parsipuri (*i.e.*, Parsee town), by which name it is said to have been known at the time when the Desai giri of the town was held by a Parsee, by name Ashā, the father of Changashah⁴, referred to in our Qisseh. The second is Navsari. This name means "New (nao) sari". Sari was a town in Mazinderan in Persia, and it is said that some new comers to the place who had seen and known the town in Persia as having good climate, named this town after it. Sir James Campbell doubts this derivation and thinks, that it is a name, akin to an old name, referred to even by some ancient Western writers. It seems possible that, even if the name is akin to an old name, the early Parsees may have moulded it in their own fashion. Early Hindu writings speak of it as Nāgmandal.

Several travellers have referred to this Parsee town. Sir Streynsham Master,⁵ Hawkins, Monserratte have referred to it. Of some particulars, given by the first two, I have spoken at some length in my papers on Rustom

1 *Parsi Prakash*, Volume I, p. 8.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *દવારીએ નવસારી* (History of Naosari, p. 4 ff.).

4 *Ibid.* p. 12.

5 The Diary of William Hedges by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II 1888), p. CCCXV.

Manock and Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem.²

Sir Streynsham Master, who was at Surat in 1672 A.C., thus refers to the Parsees and to Naosari and its Fire-temple, in his letter, dated Bombay, January 18, 1672: "At the said place of Nausaree thear Chief Priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy Fire which they brought³ (with) them from their owne Country and is never to goe out. They Keepe it soe constantly supplied; they had a Church in Surratt; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the Zelott Moors destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have severall buryall Places here abouts, which are built of Stone in the wide feilds, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and doe feed upon them."⁴

Monserate refers to the Parsees of Naosari but his account of them is unintelligible, because he seems to have mixed them up with the Hindus of the place. Anquetil du Perron, while speaking of Naosari in his time (1760 A.C.), says that the country round the town was much infested with monkeys who came to the town and carried away children.

The first known Parsee, who had entered into the service of the Mogul Emperors, was from Naosari, and he was a member of the family of Changa Shah referred to in

1. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 254-55.

2. "Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem addressed to Jehangir and Shah Jahan" (1930), pp. 115-16.

3. It was not the sacred Fire that they brought from Persia, but the sacred *alât* (آلات), i.e., requisites or materials, required to prepare and consecrate the sacred Fire.

4. The Diary of William Hedges, by Col. Henry Yule, printed for the Hakluyt Society, Vol. II (1888), p. CCCXV.

our Qisseh. It seems that, when Humayûn conquered Naosari in 1535 A.C., from the direction of Surat, he visited the town and took from there Manock bin Changa, a son of Changa Shah, with him in his service.¹

Though, according to the Qisseh, the Parsees began to disperse from Sanjan in different directions and among them to Naosari in 1090 A.C., they settled in large numbers at Naosari a little later on. It was in 1142 that, finding that the Parsee population had much grown in number, they sent for a priest from Sanjan to attend to their religious wants. Kâmdin Jarthosht was the first Parsee priest, who went from Sanjan and settled at Naosari with his family.

It is this *Pâr nadi* (Rud-i-Pâr) that has given to an adjoining village its name *Pârdi*, which is the contraction of *Pâr-nadi* (i.e., *Pâr river*). There are several places bearing the name *Pârdi* in the country between Surat and the village of *Pârdi* on the *Pâr river*. The village of *Pârdi*, near this river, is known as *Badwada Pârdi* or *Valsad Pârdi*. For the above different villages bearing the name *Pârdi*, *vide* my Appendix in the Gujarati History of the Seth Family by the late Mr. Shapurji K. Hodivala.² *Pârdi* is referred to by Anquetil du Perron as *Paori*.³

The portion of the river at its mouth is known more than the river itself. It is spoken of as *Dantora ni Khâri* (દાંટોરાની ખારી). It formed a part of the Naosari *Panthak*.

1 For further particulars about Naosari and of its position as a fort and as a port, *vide* my "Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem, addressed to Jehangir and Shah Jahan," p. 115.

2 "રોડ ખાનદાનની તવારીખ", છપાવી પ્રગટ કરનાર રોડ. કવસજી નલ-ભાઈ રોડ, વધારા p. 21.

3 Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Vol. I, Partie I, p. 34.

We find a reference to it in a document dated 25th November 1543, whereby the Naosari Mobads and the Sanjan Mobads jointly sent a priest to officiate in the country between Rud-i Pâr and the Rud-i Dantora. He and his successors were to enjoy all the income from the sacerdotal work, but they were to send to Naosari Rs. 1½ for every marriage in their jurisdiction at which they officiated.¹ The river of Dantura is the Naddi de Gantora of Anquetil du Perron.²

The small town of Bariâv (or Variâv) is situated on the

16. Rud-i Bar-
yâv. c. 210.

right bank of the river Tapti at about 12 miles from Surat. It is well known among the Parsees now as the place of a

massacre of Parsee women at the hands of the neighbouring Hindus. I have explained at some length the question whether the tradition of the massacre is correct or not in my paper entitled "A Note on the 'Parsee Massacre at Variav'," in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.³ I had the pleasure of visiting this place in December 1931 when I found that now-a-days there is only one Parsee house there.

Deh-i Bulsar is modern Valskar or Bulsar. It is

17. Deh-i Bul-
sar. c. 227.

Varsal of Anquetil du Perron, who speaks of the *Naddi* (river) of Varsal. Our Qisseh refers to the event of Sanjan

passing into the hands of the Portuguese and to that of the Sanjan priests asking for the transfer of Bulsar from the jurisdiction of Naosari to that of their own. The desire for this transfer was due to their desire to quit Sanjan, because the Portuguese, who now came into the possession of the

1 *Parsi Prakash*, Vol. I, p. 8.

2 *Zend Avesta*, Vol. I, Partie I, p. 383.

3 *Vide* No. 1, p. 17. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers," pp. 47-49.

country, were intolerant in the matter of allowing the natives of the places, they conquered, or acquired, to follow their creed freely. (a) Several Portuguese documents, (b) the writing of the traveller Goetz (A.C. 1650), (c) Parsi tradition, (d) a statement of Khafi Khan in his Muntakhab-ul Lobab, all these support the reference to the intolerance of the Portuguese.¹

Bahrūt is the name of a mountain about fourteen miles on the south of Sanjan. It is 1760 ft. high from sea-level. It is approached from several neighbouring villages. I had the pleasure of visiting it twice. Once in May 1900 when I climbed it from the direction of Dahanu, a sea-coast town where I had gone for a change.² My second visit, about 10 years ago, was from the direction of Sanjan itself, where I had gone in connection with the Jashan, held there on the occasion of the opening of the Memorial Column, which, with the kind help of my Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet and other sympathisers of the movement, I had the pleasure of erecting. The Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, Western India, Poona, has examined the place and he has taken a note of his inspection in the following words:—"About 14 miles from Sanjan, a station on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, and close to the western bank of the river of that name and in the village Khunavada in the Thana District, stands the Sanjan Peak, which commands a distant view of the Arabian sea. Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay, has been requesting the Department to expose the place on top of the hill for a long time. Accordingly arrangements for clearing the accumulated stuff from the so-called caves have

1 *Vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," pp. 21-26.

2 For my account of this visit, *vide* the *Jam-e-Jamshed* of 7th June 1900.

been made departmentally. One irregular rock-hewn cell measuring $41 \times 32 \times 13 \times 3$ having two rectangular pillars, was cleared. The front well of this cell is lined with masonry of thin old bricks of medium sizes. A flight of steps partly cut in rock and partly built up of the thin bricks leads down to its floor. Other small excavations near by have also been exposed and found them to be water cisterns. The cell was cut as one of the main water cisterns on the hill which was subsequently converted into a room. It is just possible that the room was being used by the Parsis for hiding their sacred Fire when they had been driven from the place where the first band of Parsis had landed after their migration from Iran in the year about 720 A.D.—735 A.D. and took shelter on this hill. Traces of ancient stone walls on three sides of the cisterns are visible in the dense jungle of the Forest Department. Only one wall has been exposed by the partial removal of trees and other vegetations.”

The Bombay Gazetteer thus speaks of it:—“Sanjan Rock or St. John’s Point, better known as Barut hill, 1760 feet high, stands about fourteen miles south of Sanjan. It begins to rise at about three miles from the shore and from a round central mound slopes gradually to the north and south. It is an important land-mark for sailors, being visible for forty miles in clear weather. In a cave cut out of the rock in the form of a house with windows, doors and pillars, the Parsis hid their sacred Fire when they fled from Sanjan. Bârut is said to have been the residence of one Bhungli Raja, who according to the local story, was so called from his having a magic bungli or bhungal which sounded at his door without any one blowing it.”¹

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIV, pp. 304-5.

Prof. S. H. Hodivala refers to some Persian historical writings which refer to this mountain.¹

Bansdâ is the modern town of Bansda, about 40 miles
 19. Bansdâ. c. from Bulsar. It is ruled over now by a
 271. good Hindu Rajput Prince. I remember
 with pleasure and gratitude the kind hospitality of the
 good prince during my visit of the place with a few
 literary friends about 20 years ago. After the long
 interval of nearly 432 years,² we found it difficult to
 ascertain the place where the sacred Fire was.

Surat, though a known place in later times, is not
 mentioned in our Qisseh among the several
 Surat. c. 338. places where the early Parsee settlers
 dispersed in about 1090 A.C. from San-
 jan. The reason seems to be that, at that time, Surat had
 not come to be known as a prosperous place. According
 to what Anquetil du Perron says,³ on the authority of Nur
 Beg, a librarian of the last Soubadar of Ahmedabad, it was
 at this time a mere fishing village. One Suratji, who
 was surnamed Mahigir (*i.e.*, the fish-catcher), paid his dues
 as the headman of the villagers to the Governor of Rander,
 who ruled over the place on behalf of the King of
 'Ahmedabad. Rander was, at first, the known principal
 place of the district. We learn from Abu Fazl,⁴ that it was
 at Rander, about 3 miles from Surat on the right bank of the

1 *Video* his paper on the Sack of Sanjan in his "Studies in Parsi History," p. 17.

2 The arrival of the fugitive Parsees with their sacred Fire from Bahrut to Bansda, took place in 1502 A.C. *Video* for the Table of Events, my book "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates", (1905), pp. 86-88.

3 Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome I, Partie I.

4 *Video* his Ain-i Akbari, Calcutta Text, Vol. I, p. 488, ll. 2 and 3.

Tapti river, that Akbar first saw the Parsees living in a town. We read:

وزردشتی کیش از فارس آمده بنگاه ساخته اند زند و

پازند بر خوانند و دخها بر سازند

Translation:—"The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia settled here. They follow¹ the teaching of the Zend and Pazend and erect funeral structures."²

Thus, we see that, at that time it was Raner (or Rander) that was known as a town and not Surat. According to Anquetil du Perron, Surat was latterly founded by Mahomed Begada of Ahmedabad at the end of the 15th century, and Khodavandkhan, his Governor at Rander, named it after the above Suratji, the headman of the fishers, because it was his petition to the King for protection against the Portuguese, who carried on their pirateering excursions, that led him to first erect a fort there and to found a new city. Anquetil gives the following chronogram as the inscription on the gate of the fortress, giving the date of its foundation:—"Sadd boud bar sineh djân Feringui in benah." This inscription given by Anquetil in Roman characters, when written in Persian, will run thus:—

صد بود بر سینه جان فرنگی این بنا

i.e., This building was a hindrance on the breast of the soul of the Portuguese. The Persian line gives, according to the *abjad* system, 931 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1524 A.C., as the date of the erection of the fort. The walls of the town were at first made of earth. Some time after 1666, by which year the town had increased in size and grown into a city, a wall was built round the city. It was Shivaji's sack of Surat in 1664 that led Aurangzeb to direct the erection of

¹ Lit. read.

² Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 243.

a wall. In about 1708, in the time of Haider Kuli Khan, another wall was built round the city. According to Anquetil, in the time of his stay in Surat (1757-60), the city had 12 gates with guns on its turrets. I have spoken in my paper on Rustam Manock,¹ at some length, about the sack of Sanjan by Shivaji, when the Parsees were saved by Rustam Manock, and about the imposition of the *Jazieh*-tax by Aurangzeb, when also Rustam Manock freed the Parsees from exactions. I have also spoken on Surat as the headquarters of the Parsees in my paper on Dastur Kaikobad.²

It is the town of which Anquetil³ speaks as Songuer.

21. Sungar. c. 464. It is the fort-town of Songhad where, according to Anquetil, Nana, Holkar and Damaji, all three had their officers or residents. Anauro Ekbar (Anandrao Guikwar) commanded the fort. The ladies of the household of his brother Damaji lived there. Songhad and the adjoining villages of Viârâ, Mahavâ and Bardoli have still some Parsee populations. I had the pleasure of touring through these Parsee towns in December 1909 and January 1910.

22. Udwareh. c. 499. Udwareh or Udwârâ is the Odoûori of Anquetil du Perron, who had visited it, on 21st November 1760⁴. He thus describes the Parsee town:—"This town is inhabited

1 "Rustam Manock (1635-1721), the Broker of the English East India Company (1699 A.C.), and the Persian Qisseh of Rustam Manock. A Study" (Journal, B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, New Series—Vol. VI, pp. 1-220. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 155-203).

2 "A Petition in Persian Verse by Dastur Kaikobad of Naosari to Emperor Jehangir. A Study". Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 13. *Vide* my "Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem addressed to Jehangir and Shah Jahan" (1930), pp. 104-106.

3 Anquetil du Perron's Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. 261.

4 Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome I, Partie I, p. 374.

only by the Parsees. One leaves on the right the houses in the midst of which is the Der-i Meher, which contains the Sacred Fire named Behram. This edifice is covered with a double roof,¹ lined with a panthouse (*i.e.*, a shed standing aslope from the main house). It has not from the exterior a form different from that of other houses.² On the left side of the road is a great pond. On the other side of Udwarā this road is alongside the sea. On the left are situated beautiful cocoanut trees. In the itinerary after the sack of Sanjan by Mahmud Begāda of the priests guarding the sacred fire, together with the Fire, Udwarā was the last place. They settled there in 1742 A.C. A Hindu Prince, then ruling over the place, named Duyé Sāng Rājā, helped the Parsees to settle there.”

Mr. Ramsay, on the authority of what he himself had

1 The Dar-i-Meher (lit. the Dar or House of Mithra) is generally provided with a double roof to let the smoke of the Sacred Fire pass out through the opening between the first and the second roof.

2 This was the case with almost all Fire-temples in India upto a little after the advent of the British when the Pax Britannica gave peace, security and freedom of religion to India. In earlier times, the Parsees, out of fear for any desecration of the Sacred Fire, avoided drawing the attention of non-Parsees to their temples; so, they kept the frontages similar to those of other houses. That is mostly so even now in Persia. The new Fire-temple at Teheran, built about 15 years ago, is now an exception and serves as an instance of the change of feelings in the country in the direction of tolerance of religion. I had the pleasure of visiting the Fire-temple during my visit of Teheran in November 1925. The visit was interesting to me from several points of view, one of which was that, in association with Mr. Behramji Bhicaji Patel and Mr. Jamshedji Pestonji Mistri, Engineer and Architect, I had the pleasure of working in a Committee of which I was the President, for collecting funds for it. During that visit I saw and I learned also from inquiry, that the Zoroastrian priests there also avoided, as far as possible, any special Parsee feature in their dress, so that no attention may be drawn towards them.

heard at Udwarā from the ruling head priests, says:—
 “After a sojourn of two years at Bulsar, the priests had an interview with the Raja of Māndvi, Durgan Singhji, then residing in his fort at Pardi. Protection was implored and promised and a choice given of certain villages on the sea coast for a residence. At Udwaḍa was found a small band of Parsis and a Tower of Silence, and here the fugitives fixed their choice of a resting place. A *sanad* was given them conferring certain privileges and immunities. This is stated to have been in the Samvat year 1799 (A.D. 1742).”¹

Munbai (منبى) is Bombay, which, at the time when our Qisseh was written, was under the
 23. Munbai. c. ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the priests
 585. of Naosari.² I have given, in my article on the Parsees in the “Castes and Tribes of Bombay,”³ a brief account of the arrival of the Parsees in India. I have given a table of the chief events associated with the arrival of the Parsees in Bombay in my Gujarati “Dnyan Prasarak Essays,” Part IV, pp. 1-18.

VII

PERSONAGES MENTIONED IN THE QISSEH.

The first portion of our Qisseh is common with the Qisseh-i-Sanjan. In some places, our author has taken the very wording of the Qisseh-i-Sanjan.⁴ So, in this section, when, at times, I merely say the Qisseh, without specifying any by name, one may understand any one of

1 The *Indian Antiquary* of 5th July 1872, Vol. I, p. 213.

2 Vide my “History of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay” in Gujarati, in two Vols. Vol. I.

3 “The Castes and Tribes of Bombay,” by R. E. Enthoven, in 3 Vols. Vide the word “Parsi”.

4 Vide, for instance, my “Few Events etc.” *op. cit.*, p. 50.

the Qissehs. When I will say our *Qisseh*, one may understand this present *Qisseh*, the text and version of which I have given here.

In this section, I will speak of the personages mentioned in the *Qisseh*. I will speak of them under two heads—

A—Iranian Personages.

B—Indian Personages.

A. IRANIAN PERSONAGES.

I will speak briefly about the personages of Iran, who are historical figures. I will speak of them, mostly in relation to matters, referred to in the *Qisseh*. These personages are:—

1. Zartusht, c. 29.
2. Pourushasp, c. 30.
3. Sam, c. 59.
4. Gushtasp, c. 60.
5. Jamasp, cc. 60, 63.
6. Kai Khusru, c. 61.
7. Sikandar, c. 87.
8. Ardeshir (Babegan), c. 95.
9. Ar dai Viraf, c. 98.
10. Zartusht ibn Behram, c. 99.
11. Shapur, c. 90 of *Qisseh-i-Sanjan*.
12. Adarbad Marespand, c. 91 *ibid*.
13. Yazdegerd, cc. 102-3.

The first event, referred to, while speaking of Zartusht Spitamān (Zarathushtra Spitama), is that of his laughing on birth (shud khandeh ruyadh)—an event considered to be miraculous and as one striking terror into the hearts of the wicked. This

1. Zartusht
Asfantman, c. 29.
(a) 'The Miracle
of child Zoroaster
laughing at birth.

1 *Vide* Zarathushtra in my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," p. 86.

tradition is referred to in some Pahlavi¹ and Persian books.² The Dinkard says:—"Pavan Zarhunashnê barâ khandîd," i.e., He laughed at birth. The Persian Zartusht-nâmeh³ speaks of this event as the first miracle (m'ajazah-aval) of Zoroaster.⁴

1 Dinkard, Bk. V, 2, 5; Bk. VII, 3, 2, 25. Zâdspâram, Ch. XIV 12 and 16. West, S.B.E., Vol. XLVII, pp. 35, 41, 123, 142, 143. Vide Jackson's Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, pp. 27-28.

2 (a) Zartusht-nâmeh of Zartusht Behram of Poydâ, c. 187 (be khandîd chûn shûd ze mâdar judâ). Rosenberg's "Le Livre de Zoroastre," Text p. 10. Translation p. 9. (b) Dabistan, by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Vol. 1, p. 219.

3 Rosenberg's Zartusht-nâmeh, *op. cit.*, p. 10, l. 3.

4 For the life of Zoroaster, more or less full, *vide* the following:—

(a) K. R. Cama's Jarthosht-nâmeh in Gujarati (જરથોશ્ત નામું).

(b) Dastur Peshotan B. Sanjana's "Life of Zoroaster" in Gujarati, as based on the Persian Zarthosht-nâmeh (પેગામ્બર સાહેબ અશેા જરથોશ્તના જનમાનાનો અહેવાલ).

(c) Spiegel's "Eranische Alterthumskunde," Vol. I, Bk. II, Ch. II, translated by Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana, under the title of the "Age of the Avesta and Zoroaster."

(d) Menant's "Zoroastre, Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse."

(e) Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran."

(f) Anquetil du Perron's "Vie de Zoroastre" in his "Zend Avesta Ouvrage de Zoroastre," Tome I, Partie II, pp. 1-70.

(g) Sheriarji D. Bharucha's "A Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian Religion and Customs."

(h) Dr. Geldner's article on Zoroaster in Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 24.

(i) Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's "Zarathushtra in the Gathas and in the Greek and Roman Classics" translated from the German of Drs. Geiger and Windischmann.

(j) Dr. West's Translation from the Pahlavi Zartusht-nâmeh in Dinkard, S.B.E., Vol. XLVII.

(k) My Gujarati "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names" અવેસ્તીના વિશેષ નામોની ક્ષેત્રી Word Zarathushtra.

Among foreign writers, Pliny refers to this event. We read in Pliny:—"We find it stated that Zoroaster was the only human being who ever laughed on the same day on which he was born."¹ Pliny then added:—"We hear too that his brain pulsated so strongly that it repelled the hand when laid upon it, a presage of his future wisdom."²

The Scandinavian Edda refers to this miraculous event. The writer, taking Zoroaster to be one of the builders of the Tower, of Babel, says:—"He who was the foremost (builder of the tower) was called Zoroaster; he laughed before he cried when he came into the world."³

This traditional story of the laughter of child Zoroaster on birth, referred to even by a foreign writer like Pliny, seems to reflect the beautiful poetic idea of the whole Nature, having been glad and rejoiced, and, as it were, laughing, on the birth of Zoroaster, expressed in the Farvardin Yasht. We read:—"Yêhê Zanthaêcha vakhshaêcha urvâçen âpô urvarâoscha: Yêhê Zanthaêcha, vakhshaêcha ukhshin âpo urvarâoscha: Yêhê Zanthaêcha vakhshaêcha ushtatâtem nimravant vispao Spento-dâtâo dâmân",⁴ i.e., "In whose (i.e., Zoroaster's birth and progress), the waters and the trees gladdened: in whose

(1) My Gujarati "History of the Zoroastrian Religion" જરથોસ્ત્રી ધર્મની ઇતિહાસ, Chap. V, pp. 43-93:

(m) My Gujarati lecture on "A few thoughts suggested by the Life of Zoroaster" (પેગામ્બર જરથોસ્ત્રીની જીવન ઉપરથી ઉપજતી થોડાંક વિચારો) in my Gujarati "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects," Part I.

1 Pliny's "Natural History," Bk. VII, Chap. XV. Bostock and Riley's Translation (1855), Vol. II, p. 155.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran", p. 286.

4 Yt. XIII, 93.

birth and progress, the waters and the trees increased: in whose birth and progress, all the creatures of Spentâ-mino (the good spirit) voiced shouts of welcome". The whole Nature shouted joy, saying: "Ushtâ no zâto Âthrva yô Spitâmô Zarathushtrô," *i.e.*, "Hail (or thanks to God) that an Athravan (a priest) like Spitama Zarathushtra is born for us."

Our author then speaks of the visit of Zoroaster to the Court of God for a period of ten years (be mândeh nazd-i Haq deh sâl ân rad, c. 42). The older Qisseh, the Qisseh-i-Sanjan, does not speak of it. According to the Pahlavi books, Zoroaster had, at the age of thirty, his first inspired revelation. As counted by Dr. West, on the basis of the traditional date of Zoroaster flourishing about 300 years before Alexander, this year comes to B.C. 630.¹ These years of inspired divine revelation were ten, wherein Zoroaster had, as it were religious or meditative conferences with Ahura Mazda and His Amesha Spentâs. Our Qisseh has turned these 10 years of Divine Meditation into a visit to the Court of God, where the prophet is said to have learnt his Zend and Avesta (c. 44) and to have visited Heaven and Hell.

Both the Qissehs simply say that Zoroaster presented himself in the Court of Gushtâsp in Iran. They do not name the place of the interview. But we learn from other sources, that Zoroaster was born in the east in Azarbaizan and that he declared his religion in the west in the court of the King in Bactria (Balkh). This explains why some classical

(b) Zoroaster's
Revelation.
(c) The Country
of Zoroaster's
interview with
Gushtasp. cc.
58-60.

1 S.B.E., Vol. XLVII, Introduction, s. 35. West gives an interesting Calendar of Dates beginning from the very beginning, the very first millennium 9630 B.C., to the end of the final millennium 2398 A.C.

writers speak of him as Median and others as Bactrian.

As to Zoroaster's own birth-place, there has been a great diversity of opinion, about 20 places claiming the honour of being his birth-place.¹ In my paper on "The Birth-place of Zoroaster"², I have discussed the question at full length and have shown that Zoroaster's birth-place was Âmvi or Âmui, a village about 12 miles from the city of Urumiah on the lake Urumiah (Avesta Chaechasta) in Azarbaizan (Âtarô-pâtkân). I have identified the place from my study of the Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i-Airân, as Zoroaster's birth-place. On my return to India from Europe *via* Russia, where I was kindly invited by its Academy of Sciences, when it celebrated its bi-centenary in 1925, I passed through Persia and had the pleasure of visiting, with some hardship, in the kind and hospitable company of the Hakim (Governor) of Urumiah, H. E. Haji Alikhan Bahadur, this village of Âmvi on the 8th of October 1925.³

I consider the above day (8th October 1925) as one of the most useful days of my life, as being the day, when I visited the village, which I had determined in my studies as the birth-place of my revered dear Prophet Zoroaster. From what I saw and heard there, I convinced myself, that it was the place referred to in the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân. I am much gratified to find, that this result of my humble studies and travels has been, since then, confirmed by two scholars, who can, on account of their visits of the

1 For the names of these 20 places, *vide* my paper "The Birth-place of Zoroaster" (Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 9, pp. 1-113. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers" (1928), pp. 129-241.

2 *Ibid.*

3 For an account of my visit, *vide* (a) my above paper S. XIV, pp. 237-239 of my book, *op. cit.*, and b) my "Book of Travels" (ગુજરાત યાત્રિકા) in 101 letters. Letter No. 64, pp. 304-309.

place prior to and after my visit and their studies, speak with authority on the subject. One such scholar is Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson of America, who had visited, ere I went there, Urumiah, but who then did not know anything of the above village of Âmvi.

Prof. Jackson thus speaks on this subject:—"It is now interesting to append that I believe that the location of Âmui has since been definitely determined by my old friend Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. When I last saw him in Bombay, in the spring of 1926, he told me that during his travels in Persia, the preceding year, he actually found a small village still called Âmvi (cf. Phl. Âmui), situated about twelve miles distant from Urumia in the old Atropatene territory. He made a pious but difficult pilgrimage to the village, where he observed many stones, that indicated the ruined site of a once large town. Local tradition supported the view as to the greater size of the place in ancient days, while one ruin on an elevation in the vicinity bears the name Gaor-tapah, 'the Hill of the Gabrs' and shows that we have to do with what was once a Zoroastrian site. After returning to India he delivered a lecture to the Parsis on the subject—I may add that this lecture later developed into an elaborate monograph on the general question of 'The Birth-place of Zoroaster', since published in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 9, pp. 1-113, Bombay, 1927. The last five pages (pp. 109-113) are devoted especially to Âmvi (Âmui)."¹

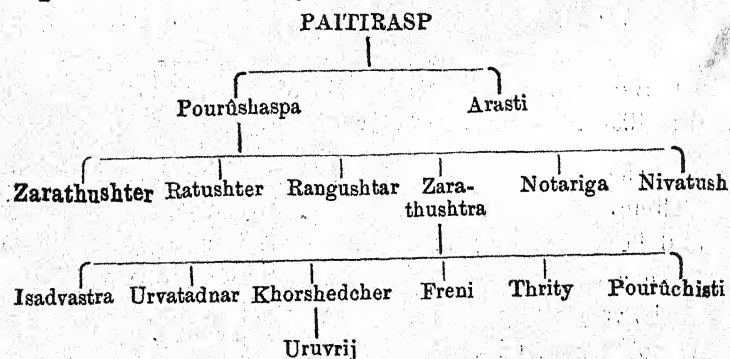
The second scholar, I refer to, is Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A., of Bombay, who, after reading and hearing of my above discovery, went to Urumiah to learn something of the subject. Though he could not go to the very village of Âmui, from what he heard and saw, he got convinced of the correctness of my discovery and

1 Vide Jackson's "Zoroastrian Studies" (1928), pp. 267-277.

has twice given expression publicly, in his two speeches in Bombay, to that conviction. I cannot sufficiently well give expression to my thankfulness to Ahura Mazda for making me an humble medium of the discovery of the very birth-place of my Prophet Zoroaster.

The Qisseh-i Sanjan says that, 300 years after the event of Zoroaster introducing his religion in the Court of King Gustasp, Alexander came to Iran and devastated the religion (ba sê sad sâl in din khâr Gashteh p, c. 84). Our Qisseh does not give the period in years, but simply says that several years (chandin sâl, c. 87) passed in this way. We here see, that the Qisseh-i-Sanjan follows the Pahlavi writers and gives the date of the promulgation of the religion of Zoroaster to be about 300 years before the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great.

Porûshaspa, the Pourûshaspa of the Avesta (Yasna IX), was the father of Zoroaster. Our Qisseh says, that Providence (qudrat) had created him, so that, from him Zoroaster may be born. The Yaçna¹ points to him as the father of Zoroaster. The following table presents a genealogical tree of the family:—



1 Hom Yt., Yaçna, Chap. IX, 13.

The hand of Providence in this matter seems to be perhaps this: Zoroaster's mother was Dughdô.¹ She was the daughter of one Frahimvâ. She was also called Zishân (𐬰𐬀𐬎), *i.e.*, of the family of Zish.² In the Vendidad,³ Zoroaster is spoken of as the son of the mother of this Zavishi family. The Pahlavi Zish is the Zavish of the Avesta. Her parents were of Rae. It is said that, as an would-be mother of a coming prophet, she had begun to show some "miraculous nimbus or Glory".⁴ That had led her villagers—and among them even her father—to suspect that she was bewitched. To avoid much talk about his daughter in his village, the father sent her away to the village where Pourûshaspa lived. There, she happened to marry Pourushasp. Thus, it was, as it were, the hand of Providence, in the transfer of Dughdô to a distant village, where Pourûshasp lived, and in the subsequent marriage. This seems to be qudrat (Nature), the Hand of God referred to by our author. The Âfrin-i Zarthosht (s. 4) explains the meaning of the name Pourushaspa. It says "Pouru-aspem bavâhi yatha Pourushaspem", *i.e.*, "May you have many horses like Pourûshaspa". This blessing shows, that he was so named, because he was the owner of many horses (pouru-aspa).⁵

Zoroaster, in his benediction, prays that the King may be "Strong like Sâm" (nîrumand chûn Sâm). In the Âfrin-i Buzorgân (s. 3), we have the blessing as "Chûn Sâm-i Nariman 'Aôzvânvar bed', *i.e.*, May you be strong like Sâm (the son) of Nariman. He is the Sâmâ of the Farvardin Yasht,⁶ where he is spoken of as Sama of Kereshaspa. In the

1 Bundelesh, Chap. XXXII, 10.

2 Pahlavi Zarathust-nâmeḥ of the Dinkard.

3 Chap. XIX, 6.

4 Jackson's "Zoroastrian Studies," p. 24.

5 *Vide* my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," p. 86.

6 Yt. XIII, 136.

recital of the names in the Dhup-nirang, Sâm is spoken of as the son of Nariman, the son of Keresasp. Firdousi seems to say the same thing. The family of Rustam, the national hero of Iran, runs down from him. His ascending line is carried to Jamshed.¹

He was the Iranian King ruling in Bactria (Balkh), where Zoroaster promulgated his religion.

4. Shah Gush-
tasp.² c. 60.

He was to Zoroastrianism, what Constantine was to Christianity and Asoka to Buddhism. He, with his queen and ministers, accepted Zoroaster's teaching and became the royal patron of the new religion. It seems, that this acceptance of the new religion of Zoroaster led to his being designated in the *Âfrin-i Zarthosht* (s. 2) as *ashô*, i.e., righteous.

According to Maçoudi, the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar, who came to throne in about B.C. 606 and who conquered Jerusalem, was a general of Lohrasp, the father of Gushtasp.³ He says "Plusieurs auteurs bien instruits de l'histoire de la perse prétendant que Bokht-Nasur (Nebuchadnezzar) fut le *merzeban* (مرزبان) de Bohràsf (Lohràsp) dans l'Irak et l'occident, qu'il envahit la Syrie prit Jerusalem et emmena les Israélites en captivité⁴ (i.e., Several authors, well instructed in the history of Persia, dare to say that, Bokht-Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar) was the Marzban (frontier officer) of Bohrasp (Lohrasp), in Irak and in the West, that he invaded Syria, took Jerusalem, and carried the Israelites in captivity). Tabari also says, that Nebuchadnezzar was a general of Gushtasp's father Lohrasp. This conquest of Jerusalem is referred to in the

1 *Vide* my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," p. 188.

2 *Vide* Vishtaspa in my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," p. 175.

3 Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, I, p. 117.

4 *Ibid.* pp. 121-22.

Pahlavi Minokherad. There, it is spoken of as a conquest by Lohrasp; and Nebuchadnezzar's name, as his general, is not mentioned. But, that seems to be a small matter. In many a case, it is the king, who is mentioned as a conqueror, and not his general. The Mino-Kherad says of Lohrasp :

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

(Aurisilam-i-Yahudân barâ afrûnt va Yahudân vashuftê vâ pargandeh kard), *i.e.*, He (Lohrasp) destroyed the Jerusalem of the Jews and dispersed and scattered the Jews.

The above statements of Maçoudi and Tabari are indirectly supported by the Pahlavi Mino-Kherad, from the point of view of Zoroaster's date, referred to in the Qisseh and referred to by Pahlavi writers. They place the time of Lohrasp, the father of Gushtasp, in whose court, Zoroaster promulgated his religion, in the 7th century B.C. In this connection, let us also bear in mind, the event mentioned, by classical writers and supported by Biblical history, *viz.*, that Cyrus, the founder of the Achaemenian Empire when he came to power and conquered Babylon, restored to the Jews, the Yahudân of the Pahlavi Minokherad, their temple, which was destroyed, and returned all its religious ceremonial requisites, which were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon.

We gather the following statements from the above

1 *Vide* Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana's Text, p. 47. Chap. XXVII. *Vide* Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria's Pahlavi, Pazend and Sanskrit Texts with my Introduction, p. 93; West, S.B.E., XXIV, p. 65. *Vide* Dr. Louis H. Gray's article "Kai Lohrasp and Nebuchadnezzar" in *Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* of 1904, pp. 291-98.

data supplied by the Arab, Pahlavi and Biblical writers:—

(1) Nebuchadnezzar was a general of King Lohrasp, the father of Gushtasp, the royal patron of Zoroaster. He, as Lohrasp's general, conquered Palestine. So, it seems that his Babylonian dynasty was contemporary to the Kayanian dynasty of Lohrasp.

(2) Cyrus, the founder of the Achæmenian dynasty, conquered Babylon, and, with his coming to power over Jerusalem, restored to the Jews, the ceremonial utensils etc. of the Jewish temple of Jerusalem.

(3) So, (a) the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar, (b) the Iranian Lohrasp, and his son Gushtasp, and their prophet Zoroaster, (c) and the Achæmenian Cyrus were contemporaries or well-nigh contemporaries within a century—the 7th and the 6th century B.C.

These data lead us to draw the following conclusions:—

- (1) They support the Parsee Pahlavi writers who place Zoroaster about 300 years before Alexander, *i.e.*, in the 7th century B.C.
- (2) They seem to say that the later Kayanian King Gushtasp, his son Asfandiyar, Bahman, the son of Asfandiyar, and the Achæmenian King Cyrus were well-nigh contemporaries.

Anyhow, the Arab writers support the Pahlavi writers, and the Pahlavi writers support the Arab writers, to say that Vishtasp and Zoroaster lived in the 7th century B.C.

The question of the date of Vishtasp is connected with that of the date of Zoroaster. It seems that the last word is not yet said on the whole subject. But, for the present, one may perhaps say that there may be two Zoroasters as said by some classical writers and even by one or two Parsi

former, who is referred to in our Qisseh. In the Gatha also, he is called Jamasp of Hvôva (Yt. XLV, 17: LI, 18) as he belonged to the Hvôva family. I have spoken of him at full length in the Introduction to my Jamaspi.¹ He is the Khanás of Maçoudi.² His name is commemorated like that of Ardeshir Babekân, in the Afrin-i Rapithavin (s. 3).

Kai Khusru is the Kavi Husrava of the Avesta. He reigned in Iran just before Lohrasp

6. Kai Khusru.
c. 61.

referred to above. His father Siavakhsh, was murdered by his father-in-law, the

Turanian King Afrasiab, under the fear that one day he, as an Iranian King, may deprive him of his Turanian throne. He is said to have retired from the world after taking his vengeance over his maternal father Afrasiab for the death of his father Siavakhsh. His renunciation of the world is compared to that of Yudhisthira in the Mahabharat. Prof. Darmesteter thought that the Indian story of the renunciation of Yudhisthira was taken from that of the Iranian story of Kai Khusru.³

Our author speaks at some length scathingly about the rule of Alexander over Iran. He speaks

7. Iskander. c.
87.

of him as a knave or swindler (makhâro, c. 88) and as one who oppressed the

people so much, as no other king had done. On account of all the mischief that Alexander the Great did to Iran, he is spoken by Pahlavi writers, as gazastê, i.e., cursed. I have spoken at great length on this subject in my paper "Alexander the Great and the Destruction of the Ancient Literature of the Parsees at his hands", read before

1 *Vide* my Pahlavi Translation, Part II, Jamaspi, Introduction pp. XXVIII-XXXV.

2 Macoudi, par Barbier de Meynard, etc. II, p. 127.

3 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S."

the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta.¹ It is said, that his teacher Aristotle prevented him from killing the nobility of Iran. We learn this from Dastur Tansar's letter to Jasnafshah, the King of Tabaristan,² the original Pahlavi of which is lost. Our author speaks of the duration of the rule of his cyde (daur), *i.e.*, of the Greek rule over Persia, as 300 years (c. 93). We do not know how he arrives at that period.

This Ardeshir is Ardeshir Babegân, the founder of the Sasanian Empire. The fall of Iran and

8. Ardeshir. c. its religion had begun with the conquest
95. of the country by Alexander. A revival of the Zoroastrian religion was begun by the Parthian King Vulkias (Vologeses), but it was Ardeshir, who may be properly said to be the founder of the Iranian Renaissance after Alexander. It is for this reason, that his name is commemorated in the Âfrin-i Rapithvin, wherein the services of some great and good Iranian worthies are commemorated. We read there (s. 10): "Hamâ zôr Frohar-i Ardeshir Babekân bād avâ hamâ Frohar-i Ârastârân Virâstârân Vinâstârân-i din-e Khoda-i bād," *i.e.*, "May there be Hamâ zor³ with (*i.e.*, May we be one with) the Holy Spirit of Ardeshir Babegân, and may there be hamâ zor with the spirits of those, who glorify, adorn and look to the progress of the religion of God." The above-

1 *Vide* my "Oriental Conference Papers," pp. 58-116.

2 For the Persian Text and Translation of this letter by Darmesteter, *vide* Journal Asiatique, Neuvieme Serie, Tome III, Mars-Avril 1894, pp. 185-250: Mai-Juin 1894, pp. 502-555. *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B.B.R.A. Society," pp. 33-34 *Vide* my article on "Alexandria and its Library" in the *East and West* of October 1904, Vol. III, No. 36.

3 *Vide* for this word my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 405-7.

mentioned letter of the Dastur and Prime Minister of Ardeshir to Jasnafshah, the King of Tabaristan, who objected to some of the renovations of Ardeshir, gives us a good idea of the efforts of Ardeshir towards the Iranian Renaissance.¹

Our author refers to the vision of Ardai Viraf, in the reign of Ardeshir Babegân. Ardai Viraf
 9. Ardai Viraf, was a great divine in the reign of this
 c. 98. king. In the matter of the vision of Heaven and Hell by him, we have many points of similarity between Dante's vision in his Divine Comedy and in the vision of the Irish saint St. Adamnain. I have treated the subject of this comparison in my three papers,² viz., (1) "An Iranian Precursor of Dante and an Irish Precursor of Dante", (2) "An account of the Irish Visionary, his Book of Vision, and his Vision"; and (3) "A Few Points of striking resemblances between the Iranian and Irish visions".

This personage, whom our author represents as the author, who described Ardai Viraf's
 10. Zarthust-ibn vision, was the author of several Persian
 Behram. c. 99. treatises. His Persian Viraf-nâmeh is based upon the Pahlavi Viraf-nâmeh.³ His other well-known work in Persian, is the life of Zoroaster.⁴ He seems to be the author of several Persian treatises.

1 For some particulars about the king, as given by Firdousi, vide in my Gujarati "Episodes from the Shah Nameh (શહ નામે શરદી)", the dastân (episode) of Ardeshir Babegân.

2 Vide my "Dante Papers", pp. 1-30.

3 Vide "Haug and Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa's Viraf. nameh." Vide Dastur Kaikhusru Jamasji's Edition.

4 Vide "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zaratusht-nama) de Zartusht-Behrâ Ben Pajdâ," by M. Frederic Rosenberg (1904 St. Petersburg).

Our Qisseh omits two names, worthy to be mentioned in

the history of the Zoroastrian religion.
 11. Shapur, c. They are mentioned by the Qisseh-i
 90 of Qisseh-i- Sanjan. They are those of Shapur and his
 Sanjan.

prelate Ādarbad Mārespand. The Shapur, mentioned by the Qisseh-i Sanjan, is Shapur II, who ruled for an unusually long period of 70 years, from 309 to 379 A.C. The downfall or commotion in Persia, referred to in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, was that caused by the religion of Mani, who spread tenets, partly of the Christians and partly of the Buddhists. Shapur looked upon Mani's heresy as an offshoot of Christianity and so persecuted the Christians. Some one says that Shapur's persecution of the Christians was more for political purposes than for religious purposes. Prof. E. Rehatsek, in an interesting article on "Christianity in the Persian Dominions, from its beginning till the fall of the Sassanian Dynasty,"¹ thus speaks on the subject:—"The whole persecution.....was chiefly confined to the provinces of Persia for the possession of which Shāpūr contended during a portion of his long reign, namely, to the districts from Edessa down to Ctesiphon, embracing a part of Armenia and the whole of Mesopotamia, so that the Christian martyrs were considered to favour the views of their Roman co-religionists, and to be disloyal to the Persian Government; accordingly they were liable to be persecuted on that score, which would considerably modify, if not altogether invalidate, the assumption that the persecution was exclusively of a religious character."² James Bird, in one of his papers,³ says, on the authority of the

1 Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 18-108. *Vide* for a summary of this article my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," pp. 82-89.

2 *Ibid.* p. 39.

3 "Observations on the Bactrian and Mithraic Coins, in the cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society," Vol. I, pp. 293-302.

Rajatarangini,¹ that in about 319 A.C. Ajax and Makran were ruled over by Shriman Hersha Vikramaditya and that this Vikramaditya was the same as Shapur II; and that he had "instituted persecution against the Manichaeans and Christians throughout his dominions". Bird further thinks that "this fresco-painting in a niche of the second idol of the caves of Bamian" belong to the time of the above "Shriman Hersha Vikramaditya of Kashmir History who destroyed the Sakas" and whom he identifies with Shapur II of Iran.²

Our Qisseh follows, as said above, the Qisseh-i Sanjan.

12. Âdarbad
Mârespand:

But while doing so, and describing the course of the Iranian Renaissance, founded by Ardeshir Babegân, it omits one name, mentioned by the Qisseh-i Sanjan, as that of a person taking an active part in the Renaissance,³ so begun. The Pahlavi writers, who speak of this renaissance, also mentions this name. It is that of Âdarbad Mârespand. So, I will speak of him here as his name seems to have been inadvertently omitted by our author. He flourished in the reign of Shapur (Dayan Khudaih-i valman-i Shapuhar, malakân malikâ Auhurmazdiyan⁴, i.e., in the reign of that Shapur King of kings who was (the son of) Auhurmazd). This Shapur is Shapur II. Dastur Peshotan B. Sanjana takes him to have flourished in the reign of Hormuzd, the son of Shapur I. He says: "इस्तुरांन इस्तुर आदरबाद मारारप'द सासानी राजनो पायेआ नाभ-नार, ये वड'सना पेहलवा पादशाह अरदेशेर आभिकनना नभीरा होरम-

1 *Vide* "Radjatarangini, Histoire des Rois du Kashmir," traduit par M. Troyer, Tome III (1852), pp. 43-853.

2 Jour. B. B. R. A. S., I., p. 296.

3 C. 91 of the Qisseh-i Sanjan.

4 *Vide* "Haug and Dastur Hoshangji: Asa's Arda Viraf Nameh", p. 144.

જવે શાહપુરના વખતમાં થાઈ ગઈએ છે.” (Ganj-i Shayagân, Gujarati Preface, p. 15, ll. 4-5). Dastur Peshotan seems to have read valman as henman Dayan Khudâeh-i benman Shapuhar malkani malaka Anhomayân (or Ahuramazdiân). He is said to have had a great hand in the Renaissance of Zoroastrian religion began by Ardeshir Babegân. He is believed to be the author of the following writings:—

- (1) Patet Pashemâni (*i.e.*, the Prayer of Repentance), which, at times, is spoken of as the Patet of Âdarbad Mârespand.
- (2) Doâ Nâm Setâyashne.
- (3) Âfrin-i Gâhmbar.¹
- (4) Andarz-i Âtarpât Marespandân.

Our Qisseh speaks of his having performed some miracles for the spread of Zoroastrianism. One of such miracles is known as that of Var-i Nirang,² *i.e.*, “Nirang (or religious celebration) on the breast (var, Av. 𐬯𐬀𐬶𐬭𐬀, Sans. उरसु Pahl. 𐬰𐬀), Pers. ور or بر bar, breast). In the miracle he is said to have poured upon his breast, melted copper ‘ru-i-vatâkhto’ which did him no harm (mân patash ru-i vatâkhte madam var rikht)³.

In this matter of such a miracle, Âdarbad was, as it were, as said by Darmesteter,⁴ the happy precursor of Savonarola.⁵

1 The Ganj-i Shayagan by Dastur Peshotan Byramji Sanjana (1885), Gujarati Preface, p. 15.

2 Viraf-nameh, I 16.

3 Darmesteter (Zend Avesta, Premier Volume, La Liturgie, p. 227, n. 15) sees in the word çazdonhvâtbya in the Gathas (Gatha Ahunavaiti, Yt. XXI, 2) the origin of the var-nirang.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), a Dominican Friar, lived in Florence with the career of a patriot-priest. Just as Âdarbad Mârespand was associated with Iranian Renaissance, he was associated with Italian Renaissance. There has prevailed a great controversy round

The death of Yazdagard, the last of the Sasanian kings, at the hands of the Arabs, put an end to the Sasanian Empire. Our Qisseh, like the Qisseh-i Sanjan, gives the dates of various events as occurring so many and so many years after him. In my calculation, I have taken the date of his death, viz., 651, as the date, and given all my calculations based upon that. Mr. Inostransev, thus, supports me in this way of my calculation, which I had first adopted in my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis" (1905). He says: "The point of departure adopted by J. J. Modi in his calculations is quite correct. As the moment, when the power of Yezdegerd was ended, can undoubtedly be considered only the moment of his death, seeing, that, in spite of a series of defeats inflicted on his armies by the Arabs, the power of the last Sasanian, if only a nominal one, was never considered as overthrown before his decease. That has also been acknowledged by the Arab writers, who inform us, that only with his death, the existence of the Persian realm came to its end, and that the Persians begin the new chronology from that particular moment: thus, for instance, Dināverī, relating about the death of Yezdegerd, says:— 'This happened in the 6th year of the Caliphate of Osman, his doctrines. While some took him as a reformer, "as an enlightened precursor of the Reformation," others took him as "a fanatic bent on the revival of mediæval barbarism". He is said to have read the Arab commentaries of Aristotle. He had a long life of varied activity. The miracle of fire-ordeal, with which his name was associated, though not directly, was this. Having made many enemies by his moral preachings and views, one day he was challenged, by a Franciscan friar, belonging to his enemies' camp, to prove the truth of his doctrine by the ordeal of fire. Though personally opposed to accept the challenge, he was, as it were, forced to do so, by one of his esteemed followers, Fra Dominico. The ordeal was not carried out, but, in the end, after a long wrangling, he was put to death (Encyclopædia Brit., 9th Edition, Volume XXI, pp. 333-39).

i.e. in the 30th year of the Hijra: it was then, that the independent existence of the Persian realm came to its end, and up to the present do the Persians base their chronology on the date of this event' (Kitâb-al-ahbâr-at-tiwal, ed. W. Guirgass, 149). According to Tabari's information. Yezdegerd was buried in Istakhr at the beginning of 31 A. H. (Annales I, 2872) that event has to be put in A.D. 651 and any chronological calculations have to start from that date.'¹

II—INDIAN PERSONAGES, MENTIONED IN THE QISSEH.

I will now speak of the following personages of India, mentioned in the Qisseh, in the order of the couplets in which their names occur:—

1. The Indian King or Ruler of Sanjan, Jadi Rana or Jae Rana.
2. Sultan Mahmud.
3. Alaf Khan.
4. The Commander of the Parsees (Ardashir) in the Hindu king's battle with Alaf Khan.
5. Chângâ Shâh bin Âsâ.
6. Nagan Râm.
7. Khorshed Kâmdin.
8. Chândnâ Sâyer.
9. The Nawab of Surat (Salâbat Khan).
10. Modi Kuverji.
11. Mobad Minocher Homji.
12. Desai Khurshedji.
13. Gangâji Râo (Gaikwar).

1 Article, headed "The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musulman World in the Middle of the VIII Century" Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 1, p. 36.

14. Damaji Rao.
15. Raja Durgah Sing.
16. Dastur Sohrab.
17. Dastur Mahyâr Meherji Rana.
18. Shah Akbar.
19. Dastur Burjo, son of Darab.
20. Dastur Jamshed Jamasp.
21. Dastur Manock Jamshed.
22. Desai Tehmur.
23. Desai Minocheher.
24. Nusserwanji, son of Bahman.
25. Rustam Manock.
26. Sohrab.
27. Darab Seth.
28. Minocher Khurshedji Seth.
29. Dastur Darab.
30. Desai Jivan Manock.
31. Rao Kerdarji.
32. Shapur Manock Behram (the author himself).
33. Neryosang Dhaval.

The King of Sanjan, to whom the first emigrants went, is named Jadi Rana. He is not named, at first, in our Qisseh, but is simply spoken of as "Râe Rayân" (c. 151), *i.e.*, Râe of Râes or King of Kings in the old Iranian way of Shahân Shâh or Malekân Malek, corresponding to the later Indian Maharajaraja, *i.e.*, the great King of Kings. But, later on, he is spoken of as Jadi Rana (c. 180). In the Qisseh-i Sanjan, which the author of our Qisseh seems to follow, in the very commencement, we find the name as Jâe Rana (مر او را نام جای رانہ بود). So, the Jadi Rana of our Qisseh is the Jâe Rana of the Qisseh-i Sanjan.

The date of the arrival of the Parsees, as ascertained by the number of years of their stay, in various places, before

their arrival at Sanjan, comes to about 785 A.C.¹ Dr. Wilson² and Revd. Dr. A. Frayer³ said he was Jayadeva of Anhilwâd Pâtan, who ruled in Gujarat for 60 years, from 745 to 806 A.C. He was also named Ban-raj or Vanraj. The Âin-i Akbari⁴ gives his name as Sarâj Châwreh (سراج چاوره - شصت سال). He was the founder of the Châwarâ dynasty of Gujarat. Blochmann⁵ says that different manuscripts have different variants of the name. One Ms. gives Bansraj (بسنراج) as the name. According to the Âin-i-Akbari, he was at first a highway robber, and then, he became a king.⁶

I think that Jâdi Rana or Jai Rana is not any proper name, but it is simply a titular name, such as Rao (of Cutch), Gaikwar (of Baroda), Rana (of Porebunder), Jam (of Nawanagar), Nizam (of Hyderabad), Thakore (of Wadhwan), etc. My reason to say so, is this: Had he been the King of Gujarat, before whom the leader of the Parsees had to go to ask for permission to land and stay, the leader would have had to go to Pâtan, about 150 miles from Sanjan. But the Qisseh says that the Parsees, no sooner they touched Sanjan, they went before the ruler. So, the name Jâdî Rânâ or Jâi Rânâ may be the titular name of the ruler of the town. Or, if it was at all a proper name, it was the name of the ruler or governor of the town of Sanjan, who ruled there under the King of Gujarat.

1 *Vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis", pp. 8-11.

2 Journal, B.B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 175.

3 Journal, B.B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 74-87.

4 Blochmann's Text I, p. 500, col. 1, line 14. Translation by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 259.

5 *Ibid.* Text I, p. 500, n. 5. Jarrett's Translation, p. 259, n. 2.

6 *Ibid.* Text I, p. 502. Translation II, p. 261. *Vide* Bird's History of Gujarat (1885), p. 138. Bayley's History of Gujarat (1886), pp. 24-26.

He is Sultan Mahmud Bigarhâ who reigned in Gujarat from 1459 to 1511 A.C. His ordinary name, at first, was Fateh Khan. He was half-brother to Sultan Kutb-udd-in.

When Sultan Dâud Shâh, who succeeded Kutb-udd-in, was found incapable to rule, he was elevated to the throne as Sultan Mahmud. According to the *Mirât-i Sikandari*, "it is said that in the Hindui language, as spoken by the Hindus of Gujarat, they call a bullock *Bigarh*, because its horns stretch out right and left like the arms of a person about to embrace. The moustachios of the Sultan were straight and long like these horns; hence he obtained the cognomen *Bigarha*. Some say that in Hindui *bi* means two and *garh* a 'fort'. The Sultan took the forts of Junagadh and Champanir and from the conquest of these two forts he was called *Bigarh*".¹ The *Qisseh-i Sanjan* says:

همش محمود سلطان خواندندی رعایا ظل سبحان خواندندی²
i.e., They also called him Sultan Muhmud, (His) subjects called him *Zill Subhan*, *i.e.*, the shadow or representative of God. The *Mirât-i Sikandari* calls him *Dinpanâh* (دین پناه) which is something like the title of the English king "Defender of the Faith".³

When our author says that sudden news came to the King of Sanjan that the Mahomedans had come to India (c. 235 که درهند آمده مردان اسلام) the event referred to is the conquest of Champanir by Sultan Mahmud. Our author

1 'The *Mirât-i Sikandari*, as translated by Bailey (1886) "The Local Mahomedan dynasties—Gujarat," by Sir Edward C. Bayley, p. 161. *Vide* Forbes' *Rasmala*, p. 291.

2 *Vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 227, l. 7. *Vide* R. B. Paymaster's *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*.

3 *Ibid.* p. 161.

does not refer to this special event, but the Qisseh-i Sanjan,¹ which it mostly follows, refers to the conquest of Champanir.

According to the Mirat-i Sikandari, Mahmud Bigarha took the fortress on 2nd of month Zi-l Kadeh of year 889 (i.e., 1484 A.C.)² The Tabakat-i Akbari³ and the Tarikh-i Fireshtë refer to this event.⁴

Hindu bards also refer to this event.⁵ The conquest of Champanir was followed by a general conversion of the people. Attempts in this direction and other oppressive acts led the people to commit their women and children to flames. They preferred their death to their falling into the hands of the Mahomedans. The King of Champanir also

1 (I) For the full text of the Qisseh-i-Sanjan in Persian, *vide* (a) Kisseh-i Sanjan, edited by Mr. Rustom Burjorji Paymaster (1915-16) and (b) Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unvala's Lithographed Edition of Darab Hormazdyar's Rivāyet, with my Introduction, Vol. II, pp. 344-54.

(II) For its English translation, *vide* (a) Journal B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, pp. 167-191, (b) Mr. R. B. Paymaster's Kisseh-i Sanjan, *op. cit.*, (c) Prof. S. H. Hodivala's Translation in his "Studies in Parsi History," pp. 92-177, and (d) for the Text and Translation of a number of important passages, *vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis."

(III) For its Gujarati Translation, *vide* (a) Framji Aspandiarji Rabadi's Translation in his Hadesah Nameh (1831). This is reproduced by Mr. R. B. Paymaster in his above work. (b) A translation in Gujarati verse by an anonymous writer (1855). This also is reproduced by Mr. R. B. Paymaster.

2 Bayley's History of Gujarat, *op. cit.* p. 210. Munshi Naval Kishore's Litho Edition of 1876, p. 475, ll. 1-5.

3 The Litho Edition of 1832, Vol. II, p. 398, ll. 5-8.

4 For quotations in the original and other particulars, *vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis," pp. 32-34.

5 For its *chappā*, *vide ibid.* pp. (34-35).

preferred death. It was in about 1490, *i.e.*, about six years after the conquest of Champanir in 1484, that Sanjan fell into the hands of Sultan Mahmud Begarha.¹

I know that, as to the date of this Sack of Sanjan, there has been a difference of opinion. Dastur Framji Aspandiarji Rabadi thought, that it was 1507.² Dr. John Wilson³ accepted that date. Mr. B. B. Patel discusses this question in his *Parsi Prakash*⁴ and says that the date may be some date between 1458 and 1468. Prof. S. H. Hodivala has a long paper on the subject⁵ and he takes the year to be 1465 A.C. I have previously examined the question at some length in my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates" (1905) (pp. 31-43) and have come to the conclusion, on the strength of some historical data, that the year of the Sack of Sanjan by Mahmud Bigarha was 1490 A.C. I have looked into the question again, and, notwithstanding all the doubts thrown upon the date by Prof. Hodivala, I still stick to my date.

I think that the Qisseh-i Sanjan's mention of the conquest of Champanir by Mahmud Bigarha (in 1484) gives us a rock-strong historical landmark. It is clear from the wording of the Qisseh, that the sack took place *after* that event. So, it cannot be *before* the date of the capture of Champanir⁶ (1484). The date of the conquest

1 For a full discussion of the subject, on the authority of the Mirat-i Sikandari, Tabakat-i Akbari and Tarikh-i Fireshta, *vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 36-44.

2 *Vide* his Hadiseh Nameh (1831), p. 199 n.

3 Journal, B.B.R.A. Society, Vol. I, p. 182 n.

4 Vol. I, p. 5, n. 1.

5 "The Sack of Sanjan". *Vide* his "Studies in Parsi History" (1920), pp. 37-66.

6 This fortress is situated in a district of the Baroda State and can be visited from Baroda. I had the pleasure of seeing it on 8th January 1912.

of Champanir is determined on the authority of several historical writings.

James Campbell, the learned Editor of the "Bombay Gazetteer," has by mistake taken this Sultan Mahmud to be Muhammadshah or Ala-ud-din Khilji (1295-1315 A.C.).¹ Dr. Wilson and other writers took him to be Mahmud Bigarha. Sir James Campbell seems to have been misled by a quotation of Elliott from Amir Khusru. Amir Khusru is spoken of as the "Parrot of Hind," as "one of the most prolific poets that the world has ever possessed,"² as he has written some five lacs of verses. He has written a poem called "Ashaka" on the subject of "the lives of Devad Rani, daughter of the Râi of Gujarat, and Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Ala-ud-din." He refers to Ulugh Khan, a general of Sultan Ala-ud-din. This Ulugh Khan had conquered Gujarat at the direction of his master Sultan Ala-ud-din. In his account of this conquest, Amir Khusru speaks of a battle between Ulugh Khan and the Râi of Gujarat and says that in this battle "the shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of the *gabrs*."³ James Campbell seems to have been altogether misled by the word *gabrs* in Amir Khusru's writing, though he himself says that "*gabre* is often vaguely used to mean infidel; it does not by itself prove that the people referred to are Parsees or were fire-worshippers." The fact is that Amir Khusru has referred to the Hindus by the use of the word "Gabrs."

It is clear that if Campbell had before him the fuller text of Amir Khusru's writing instead of the short

1 "The Bombay Gazetteer," Thana, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 250.

2 Elliott's "History of India," Vol. III, p. 523.

3 Translation of Amir Khusru's lines on the subject as given by Elliott in his "History of India," Vol. III, p. 549.

quotation of Elliott, he would not have committed the error of taking the Sultan Mahmud of the Qisseh to be Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji whose original name also was Mahmud.

This being the case, Campbell's attempt to identify Alafkhan, the Vazir of Sultan Mahmud, with Ulugh Khan of Ala-ud-din Khilji falls to the ground.¹ Though, as a good scholar, he has expressed his doubts about the signification of the word *gabr*, James Campbell's attempt has misled some Parsee writers²—and among them a writer like the late Mr. Dossabhoy Framji, in his "History of the Parsees,"—into the error of taking Sultan Mahmud to be Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji instead of Sultan Mahmud Bigarha, as taken by previous writers. I think that Eastwick's translation of the Qisseh-i Sanjan, being, here and there, faulty, has also misled Campbell.³

Our Qisseh speaks of Alafkhan as a Vazir (وزیر) of Sultan Mahmud. We learn from the 3. Alafkhan c. "Mirât-i Sikandari"⁴ that Alaf Khan, 240. who was, at first, a favourite, latterly rebelled against Sultan Mahmud, at the time when he was in charge of the district of Morâseh (موراسه). The "Mirât-i Sikandari" speaks of him as a 'maolâ-zâdeh' (مولازاده).⁵ The "Tabaqât-i Akbari" speaks of him as a 'khâneh-zâd' (خانه زاد).⁶

1 For full particulars as to this writing of Amir Khusru, vide my "Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan," p. 54.

2 (a) "Tarikh-i Shahan-i Iran," by Mr. P. B. Desai, Part II, pp. 394-95. (b) "A History of Gujarat" by Mr. Edalji Dossabhoy (1894), p. 14.

3 Vide my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 69-70.

4 B. B. R. A. Society's MS. of "Mirât-i Sikandari," p. 165, l. 12, to p. 166, l. 5. Bayley's "History of Gujarat," p. 220.

5 I.e., the son of a servant. This expression means "a hereditary follower," Bayley's "Gujarat," p. 220, n. 1.

6 Munshi Naya! Kishore's Litho. Ed. of 1875, p. 479, ll. 2-14.

It seems that he had committed some defalcations in the matter of the stipends of the soldiers. To avoid being arrested, he fled out of fear and rebelled against the king. In the end, he apologized and was restored to favour. But he fell into disgrace once again by having murdered an assistant and was sent to prison where he died.¹

In his account of the battle of the Hindu ruler of Sanjan

The Leader of the Parsees in the Hindu King's battle with Alaf Khan. c. 258.

with the army of Alaf Khan, our author, Shapurji, says that he gives the account in short (*mukhtesar*). He says, that, when counted, the number of the Parsees, who fought for the Indian king, came to 1400. To be brief, he does not give the name of the leader, but the "Qisseh-i-Sanjan" gives it as Ardeshir. It says that he was the first to come to the *maidan* for fight. In the first battle, the Hindus were successful and the enemy fled from Ardeshir. Alaf Khan also fled in the darkness of night. He reappeared after some time with a larger army. Ardeshir again came forward and said to the Hindu Raja that the strength of the enemy's army was 100 to every one of their soldiers. In this unequal match, as shown by the number, the Hindus lost the battle and both, Ardeshir and the Indian Raja, were killed. We know no further particulars about this Ardeshir.

Changâ Shâh was a rich influential Parsee of Naosari.

5. Changâ Shâh bin Asâ. c. 277.

It was his wealth and his influence with the people, both of Naosari and Bansda, where the Sacred Fire of Sanjan was removed from the hill of Bahrut after the fall of Sanjan that enabled him to remove the Sacred Fire from Bansda to

1 For full particulars with quotations from "Mirât-i Sikandari," "Tabaqât-i Akbari" and "Târikh-i Fireshte," vide my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," *op. cit.* pp. 37-41.

Naosari. He flourished at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. His sons also were distinguished citizens of Naosari.¹

Nāgan Rām, Khurshed Kayāmuddin (Kāmdin) and Chāndnā Sāyer, the three priests who carried the Sacred Fire of Sanjan, spoken of as 'Irān-shāh' in the "Qisseh-i-Sanjan," from Bānsdā to Naosari, seem to be famous Mobads of the time. They went to Naosari with their families. On approaching Naosari, they marched off alone with the Sacred Fire leaving their families on the road to follow them. Nāgan Rām was an ancestor of Dastur Bahman Kaikobād, the well-known author of the "Qisseh-i Sanjān." Prof. S. H. Hodiwala thus traces the descent of Bahman Kaikobād from Nāgan Rām: Nāgan Rām—Narsang—Kāmā—Padam—Hamazyār—Kaikobād—Bahman.² Dārāb Hormazyār and Barzo Kāmdin, the well-known compilers of the two Rivāyats known after their names, were also descended from him.³

Khurshed Kāmdin, the second Mobad, who went to Naosari carrying the Sacred Fire, was a leading man of his time. He is mentioned (a) in the second Rivāyat of Narimān Hoshang (1481 or 1486 A.C.) and (b) in the Rivāyat of an unknown messenger (1511 A.C.). He had three sons, Chāndā, Jeshang and Āsdin or Āsā. Some of the present Udwarda priests are descended from the first two sons, and the priests of Bulsar, of Jamasp Bhaiji's family, are

1 For a fuller account of Chāngāshāh and his family, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees", pp. 96-98. *Vide* my "Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem addressed to Jehangir and Shah Jahan", p. 103.

2 Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII, p. 367. *Vide* my "Dastur Bahman Kaikobād and the Qisseh-i-Sanjan," p. 7.

3 *Ibid.*

descended from his third son.¹ Prof. S. H. Hodivala has thus traced from him the descent of Hoshang, the learned preceptor of Bahman Kaikobâd, the author of the "Qisseh-i Sanjân": Khurshed Kâmdin—Âsâ (or Âsdim)—Châyân—Kâmdin—Âsâ—Hoshang.² I thus trace from him the ancestry of the late Dastur Khurshedji of Udwada: Khurshed Kâmdin—Âsâ or Âsdim—Châyân—Kâmdin—Âsâ—Dastur Hoshang—Dastur Khurshed—Dastur Behram—Dastur Rustam—Dastur Bhikhâ (the first Dastur of Udwada, 1682-1757)—Dastur Behramji (1720-1785)—Dastur Darabji (1766-1855)—Dastur Minocherji (1812-1877)—Dastur Khurshedji (1877-1923). The present Dastur of this family, Dastur Pheroze (there are two families of Dasturs) is the son of Dastur Khurshedji's daughter. He has succeeded as an adopted son.

Chândnâ Sâyer (or Chângâ Sâher) was also a famous Mobad of his time. He was an ancestor of Shâpur Shehryâr Sâmro, who had, later on, quarrelled with his Sanjânâ priests.³

Our author speaks of the Governor of Surat, as Nawâb but does not give his name. But we learn from Anquetil du Perron's account of his stay at Surat ("Le Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I," page 325), that this Nawâb was Salâbat Khân. A street of Surat is still known by his name as "Salâbatpura" (*vide* Narmadâshanker Lâlshankar's Short Account of Surat, "નર્મદાશંકર," પુસ્તક ૨, અંક ૧, સુરતની મુખત્તર ઇતિહાસ, p. 3, n. 12). He had come to power as the Mutasaddi

1 *Vide* my "Bahman Kaikobâd and the Kisseh-i-Sanjân," pp. 7, 8 and 50.

2 Journal, B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXIII, p. 366.

3 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 860.

of Surat in 1687.¹ (Edalji Burjorji's History of Surat in Gujarati, 1890, p. 44.)

Modi Kuverji, who helped the Naosari Bhagaria priests when their case went to the Court of the Nawáb of Surat, was a great influential Parsee of Surat. His full name was Kuverji Nanabhai Punjia. He was also spoken of as Gándhi and Modi. His father Nanabhai Punjia (died 1667 A.C.), was a leading man of Surat where he had built a Tower of Silence. It was a member of his family who had built the first Tower of Silence and the first Parsee Fire-temple in Bombay.²

(a) With his brother Hirji and Ervad Rustom Peshotan, a great poet, he was signatory to a letter written to the Zoroastrians of Persia, in 1668, inquiring as to the propriety of his father's dead body being at first placed in an old Tower of Silence, and then removed to the new Tower.³ (b) He was one of the addressees of the Rivâyat of 1670 A.C. (c) He was a leader of the Parsees of Surat and (d) was the first to receive the surname Modi from the English Factory. The officers of this factory were harrassed by the Portuguese and by the Mogul officials of Surat. The factors were not allowed to have free access to the markets for the purchase of food, groceries and other stores. Kuverji helped them and secured all provisions, etc., for them and was therefore called their 'Modi,' i.e., supplier of groceries.

1 For a fuller account of this Nawáb and a case before him, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 74-76.

2 *Vide* (a) my "History of the Parsee Punchayet," Vol. I, pp. 8-12, (b) my "Introduction to Mr. Manekji Rustamji Unvala's Lithographed Edition of Darab Hormazdyar's Rivayat," p. 9, and (c) for the genealogy of the family, my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," p. 76.

3 The "Parsee Prakash" Part I, p. 16.

by the English factors. (e) He was one of the signatories to a letter of mild and polite remonstrance, written, on the 9th November, 1683, by some leading laymen and priests, to the Sanjana priests of Naosari, asking them not to act against the terms of the agreement entered into by them with the Bhagaria priests of Naosari. (f) For all the kindness that they had seen at the hands of Kuverji, the Bhagaria priests expressed their gratitude by celebrating certain religious ceremonies in honour of two ladies of Kuverji's family. One of the two ladies, Bai Virbaiji, was the wife of Dhanji Padam, referred to by Anquetil du Perron, in the preliminary portion of his "Zend Avesta" (Tome I, Partie I, page 324), a near relative of Kuverji Modi.¹

Mobad Minocherhomji was a member of the Bajân (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌) family of the Bhagaria priests of Naosari. 11. Mobad Mino-cherhomji c. 375. Having separated from his brother Bhagaria priests in order to officiate as a priest of the laymen who had quarrelled with the Bhagaria priests, he founded a separate Dar-i Meher for the performance of religious ceremonies. According to the Naosari Fihrest,² he had become a qualified Nāvar on Roz 10, Māh 3, Samvat 1709³.

Desai Khurshedji's name was and is even now great in Naosari. He was, and is even now, held 12. Desai Khurshedji. cc. 388 ff. as a great benefactor of the Bhagaria priests. So, I will speak of him at some

1 For a fuller account of this Modi's family and for a genealogical tree tracing the descent of the present members of the well-known Modi family of Surat, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 75-77.

2 *Vide* the Naosari "Nāvar and Nirang-din Fihrest."

3 For a fuller account of this personage and his descendants, *vide* the Gujarati "History of the Karkaria Family." pp. 20-22.

length and collect here some particulars relating to him. The early ancestors of Desai Khurshedji (1698-1779) were Dasturs, *i.e.*, leading priests. Then, since one of his ancestors carried on the work of Desai and his family continued it, the family came to be known as that of Desai. So, I will say here a few words about the early Desais, the Desais who preceded Desai Khurshedji's Dastur ancestors.

It is said¹ that the 'Desaigiri' of Naosari was in the hands of the Parsees for about 250 years before the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar. The earlier Desais are not known by name.

The first Parsee Desai, known by name, was Chângâ bin Âsâ, referred to above, who brought about the transfer of the Sacred Fire, first founded in Sanjan, from Bânsdâ to Naosari. His sons and grandsons continued the 'Desaigiri.' His great grandson, Minochehr, who is mentioned in the Persian Rivâyât of Kaus Kamdin, written in 1553 A.C., and in the Persian letter of Fredun Marzban of about 1570 A.C.,² conducted the 'Desaigiri' in succession. He had two assistants (gumâshteh), named Behram Jesâ, a Parsee, and Kikâ Vimâ, who had both usurped much of the work of Desaigiri.⁴ Behram Jesâ was the Desai of Naosari at the time when Akbar conquered Gujarat in about 1575 A.C. Behram Jesâ had two assistants, Behram Faredun and Homji Faredun were two brothers, who belonged to a family of priests, and were the ancestors of Desai Khurshedji's stock. After Behram Jesâ, they acquired and divided the 'Desaigiri' among themselves. The descendants of the elder son Homji were known as 'Mohtâ Desai' (મોહટા દેસાઈ), *i.e.*, the

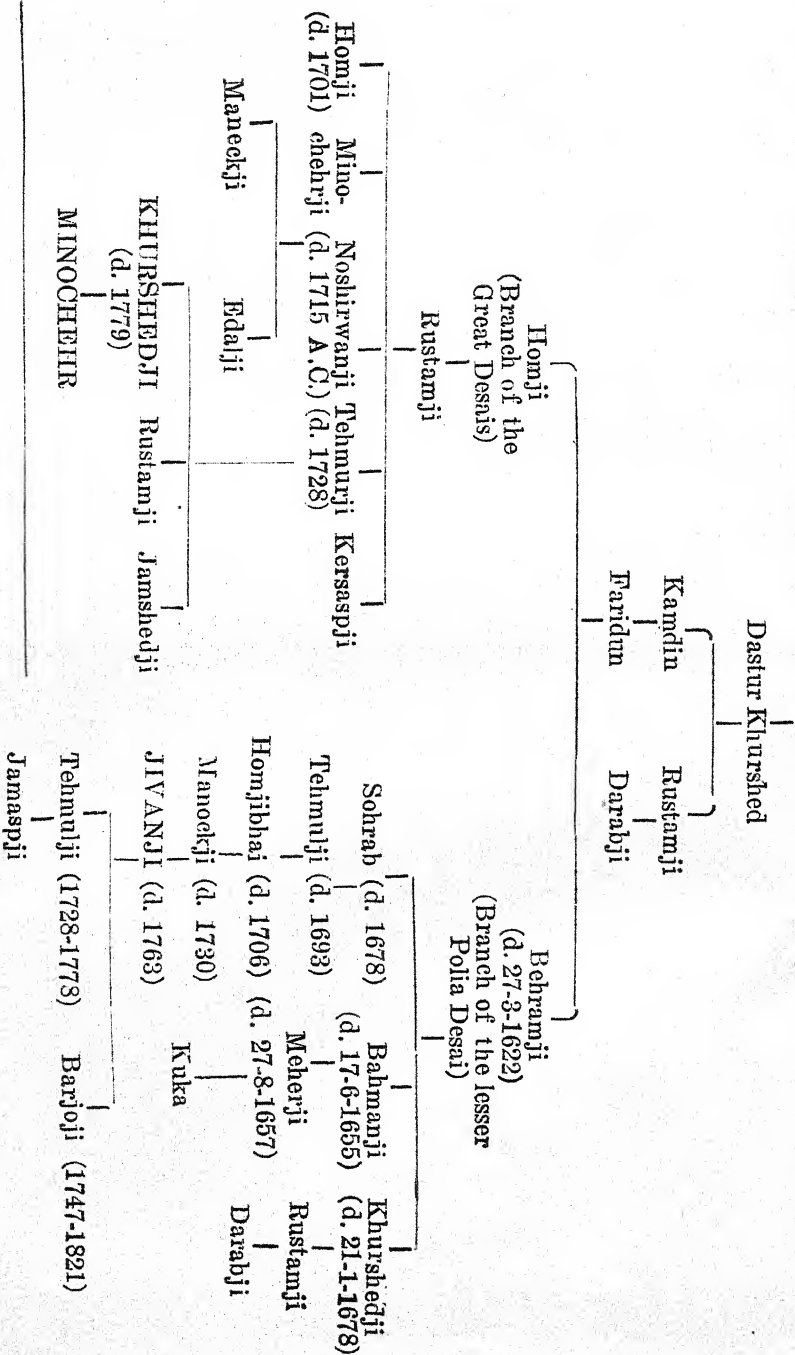
1 For much of what I say here I am indebted to the "History of the Desai Family" (દેસાઈ પાનદાનની તવારીખ, 1887 A.C.) by Mr. Palonji Burjorji Desai.)

2 For a genealogical table of the descendants of Chângâ Âsâ, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 97.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

4 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 10.

DASTUR BEHIRAM PAHLANI



1 Mr. Pallonji Desai's "History of the Parsees," p. 2, col. 2.

greater Desais. Those from the second son, Behramji, were known as 'Polia Desais' (પોલીયા દેસાઈ), i.e., "the Desais of the Pol." They were so called, because they lived in a *pol*, i.e., a large family house of several compartments, which was at first built by their ancestor Behramji.

I have said above that these two brothers belonged to a priestly family. So, I will trace here the descent of the two brothers, which is, as it were, tracing the descent of Desai Khurshedji. I give, on the opposite, page a Tree of Descent from an early ancestor Dastur Behram Pahlān and then speak of Desai Khurshedji and his descendants.

The first ancestor of the present two Parsi Desai families of Naosari,—the 'Mohta Desais' and the 'Polia Desais,'—and therefore of Desai Khurshedji himself, was one Behram Pahlān.¹ (a) This Behram was one of the well-known persons of Naosari to whom the Rivāyat of Cāmā Āsā was addressed by the priests of Persia, on the 7th September, 1527.² (b) He was one of the addressees of the Rivāyat of the 17th January, 1535, brought by Aspandyār Yazdagard and Rustam.³ (c) He was known as a Dastur in the time of Mānock Chāngā,⁴ son of Chāngā Āsā, whose known dates are from 1520 to 1535.⁵ He had a son who was well-known as Dastur Khurshed, versed in religious lore.⁶ Dastur Khurshed had a son named Kāmdin who was a famous Mobad of his time.⁷ Kāmdin had a son named Faridun who also was a learned Mobad.⁸ Faridun had two sons, Homji and Beh-

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 7. 2 *Ibid.* col. 1.

3 *Ibid.* p. 8.

4 *Ibid.* p. 11, col. 2.

5 *Vide my* "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," *op. cit.*, p. 98.

6 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 11, n. 5. 7 *Ibid.* 8 *Ibid.*

ramji.¹ These two brothers, as mentioned above, were the assistants of the above-mentioned Desai Behram Jesâ who, after the death of Behram, acquired and divided the 'Desaigiri' among themselves. Desai Khurshedji was descended from Homji.

Homji had a son named Rustamji. This Rustamji is the signatory, Rustam Homji, to the document dated the 8th February, 1687, passed by the Mobads of Naosari to the Behedins. Other signatories to the document, Rustam Khurshed and Darab Rustam (father and son), are the descendants (grandson and great-grandson) of Homji's brother, Behram Faridun.²

Rustamji Homji had five sons: Homji, Minochehrji, Noshirwanji, Tehmurji and Kersaspji. Out of these five, three died at a comparatively early age, and two, the 3rd and the 4th Noshirwanji and Tehmurji, acquired from Darabji Rustamji Khurshedji, great-grandson of Behramji Faridunji (their grandfather Homji's brother), his share of the 'Desaigiri' which Behramji had jointly acquired with Homji on the death of Behram Jesâ, the preceding Desai. Of these two brothers—Noshirwanji and Tehmurji,—the brunt and responsibility of the work of the 'Desaigiri' in the town itself fell upon Tehmurji, because Noshirwanji is said to have generally led an easy life at the village of Châprâ. Desai Khurshedji was the eldest of the three sons of Desai Tehmurji.

Desai Khurshedji's eminent services to Naosari and its Bhagaria Priesthood.

Of the many services Desai Khurshedji rendered to his town of Naosari and to his Parsee community there, the following were eminent:—

1 Mr. P. B. Desai's "History of the Mohta Desais" (મોહતા દેસાઈ ઇતિહાસ) p. 3, col. 2.

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 844.

1. Naosari was more than once a prey to Mahratha marauders. Gopibai, the mother of Nāranrāo, suspected that the people of Naosari had helped Rāghoji—uncle of her son Nārandās, who had murdered her son—during his flight to Surat. So, she sent a band of plundering soldiers to ransack Naosari. A sum of Rs. 35,000/- was settled as ransom for being saved from the impending ravage and Desai Khurshedji paid that amount on behalf of the people out of his own pocket.¹ It seems that he was to Naosari, at this sack of Naosari, what Rustam Manock was to Surat at the sack of Surat by Shivaji.²

2. In the long dispute of the Bhagaria Mobads of Naosari with the Sanjana Mobads who had come to stay at Naosari with their Sacred Fire, it was Desai Khurshedji who had helped the former. The result of all this help was that the Sanjana priests had to leave Naosari with their Sacred Fire to go back within the old precincts of their 'panthak' (or "ecclesiastical jurisdiction") of Sanjan. As the whole affair is mentioned in the Qisseh itself and summarized by me above, I will not speak of it again here.

3. The third memorable service which Desai Khurshedji did to the Naosari Anjuman was that of helping them to found an Atash Behram of their own. The Anjuman expressed a desire to that effect and Desai Khurshedji agreed and helped the Anjuman in every way. The principal help that the Anjuman received in this pious work from outside Naosari was from some leading Parsees of Surat. Desai Khurshedji helped the Anjuman in various directions, but his principal share in this work was that of providing a good home for the Sacred Fire—a dome (*gumbad*) or a house with a dome. All these points are also described at

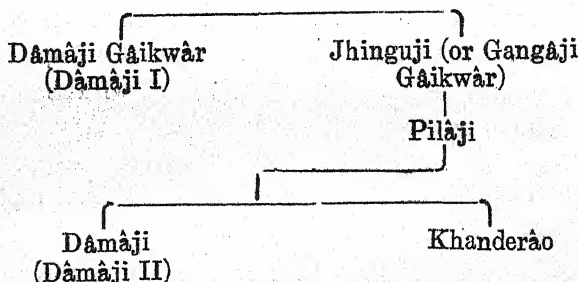
1 Mr. P. B. Desai's "History of the Desai family," p. 11. For the above Rāghoji, *vide* my History of the Parsee Punchayet, Vol. I, p. 77.

2 *Vide* my paper on Rustam Manock (Journal of the B. B. Royce Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. VI, pp. 79 *et seq.* *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 179 *et seq.*

length in the 'Qisseh-i Sanjan' and summarized above.

4. In Naosari there are three 'Wâdis' (واڊس) or garden-grounds which are known from the names of Desai Khurshedji and his two brothers, Rustamji and Jamshedji. They are known as 'Khurshed wâdi,' 'Rustam wâdi' and 'Jamshed wâdi.'¹ Of these three, Desai Khurshedji dedicated the one bearing his name to the public for the use of the Anjuman at all the festive and public purposes of the Anjuman.²

Another name of Gangâji Râo was Jhinguji. He was a brother of Dâmâji Gâikwâr (Dâmâji Gangâji Râo I) and father of Pilâji. The following table shows the relationship of the Gâikwârs, some of whom are referred to in the Qisseh³ :—



Dâmâji was the founder of the distinguished Gâikwâr ruling family of Baroda. Gangâji is more than once spoken of as Râo. It seems that he was, at this time, the Governor of Naosari. The writing, which the layman passed, according to the 'Qisseh,' to the Bhagaria priests, is dated Roz 26, Mâh 3, Samvat 1791, (i.e., 1735 A.C.).⁴ This Gangâji was

1 It is at this wâdi that Anquetil du Perron had an interview with Dastur Jamshed of Naosari (*vide* my "Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Darab," p. 52).

2 Mr. P. B. Desai's "History of the Desai Family," p. 21.

3 For a somewhat full account of the Gâikwârs, *vide* my article entitled "An Outline of the History of the Early Gâikwârs" in the paper *Swatantra* (સ્વાતંત્ર) of the 12th September, 1913.

4 For the purport of the document, *vide* the summary above.

spoken of as Gangâji Bâwâ (*i.e.*, father Gangâji). He is the Jhingoji Gàikwâr of European writers.¹ His grandson, Dâmâji II (1732-1768), was the ruling Gàikwâr. As his brother, Dâmâji I, had adopted his son Pilâji, the Gàikwâr did not come to him but passed on directly to his son Pilâji and then to his grandson Dâmâji II. This seems to explain why he was spoken of as Bâwâ, *i.e.*, father. It is possible that the son and grandson, out of respect for him, called of him "father" and other writers followed them. Such a thing often happens in Indian families.

Dâmâji is mentioned also as Râo Dâmâji (c. 463) in the Qisseh. The Court of Gangâji Râo, where the case of the Sanjânâ priests was first

14. Dâmâji Râo.
c. 461,

heard by Dâmâji, was held at Sungar (سونگر)

c. 464). The reason seems to be that in the first case, the laymen had taken their case before the Governor of Naosari. This time, the Sanjânâ priests carried the matter, not before the Governor Gangâji Râo, but before the ruler himself, who was Dâmâji Gàikwâr. His chief centre of rule was at Sungar, some miles away from Naosari. He granted the request of the Sanjânâ priests to leave Naosari for Bulsar, and our Qisseh says that they left Naosari on Roz Jamyâd (28), Mâh Safandar (12), year 1109 A.Y., *i.e.*, 1741 A.C. So, this Dâmâji Râo was Dâmâji the Second, who ruled from 1732 to 1768, A.C.

Durjeh Sang seems to have ruled over Udwâdâ at the time. According to Mr. Ramsay,² who has written on the authority of what he had heard at Udwâdâ itself, this Durjeh Sang was the Râjâ of Mândwi and was residing, at the time, in his fort at Pârdi (contraction of Pâr-nadi, *i.e.*, the

15. Râjâ Dur-
jeh Sang. c. 500

* 1 "The Guicowar" by Col. Wallace (1863), pp. 9-10. "Bombay Gazetteer," Vol. VII, Baroda, pp. 169-70.

2 "Indian Antiquary" of the 5th July 1872, (Vol. I, p. 219).

river Pâr, referred to in the Qisseh). So, it seems that at that time Udwadâ was under the possession of this King of Mândwi. (*Vide* my note in the summary of cc. 493-507).

The Dastur Sohrab referred to was Dastur Sohrabji Rustamji Meherjirana (1719-1779 A.C.), the Head Dastur of Naosari, who died at the age of 60, on the 21st April, 1779. He became Dastur in 1761 on the death of his brother Dastur Jamshedji. During the sack of Naosari by the Mahratha freebooters, he left Naosari in 1776 and stayed at Surat for some time. The newly consecrated Sacred Fire of Naosari had also to be removed to Surat.¹ He was a learned Dastur and his son Dastur Framji was more learned than he. The late Dastur Mulla Feroze of Bombay had written a few laudatory verses in honour of Dastur Framji.²

Dastur Mahyâr, mentioned by our author as the ancestor of Dastur Sohrâb, is the well-known Dastur Meherji Rânâ, who had visited the Court of Emperor Akbar³ and was the founder of the well-known Dastur Meherji Rânâ family of Naosari. He died on the 1st November, 1591. He was appointed the Dastur of Naosari by a public document, dated the 12th March, 1579, which document was latterly supported by another, dated the 1st September, 1580. Our Qisseh says that he had produced many proofs about the (Zoroastrian) religion before Akbar (*basî burhân-i dîn zâher kard û*, c. 530).

1 *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji-Rânâ", p. 46.

2 "The Parsee Prakash", Vol. I, p. 230.

3 *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji-Rânâ," p. 46 and 235.

The Shah 'Akbar is the Emperor Akbar, referred to in connection with his invitation to
 18. Shah Akbar, Dastur Meherji Rânâ to his Court, to
 c. 530. attend the religious conference he had held at Agra. He had given to Dastur Meherji Rânâ a piece of ground near Naosari, about 200 'bighas' in area.¹

Burzo's father, Dârâb, was the well-known Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan of Naosari.² As to Dastur
 19. Dastur Bur- Burzo, mentioned here, I will quote here,
 zo, son of Dârâb. what I have said in my book on the
 c. 533. work of Dârâb Pâhlan: "Dastur Burzo, the son of Dastur Darab Pahlân also was a scribe. A Pahlavi Rivâyat, written by him, is referred to in a MS. in the Mulla Feroze Library (Ervad B. N. Dhabhar's Descriptive Catalogue, p. 34). The copyist speaks of Dastur Burzo as *munazzam nâmi* (منظم نامی), i.e., illustrious in line (nizâm, descent). He is said to have taken an active part in the consecration of the Atash Behram of Naosari. He died on the 22nd October, 1770."³

1 Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 95 and 224.

2 This Dârâb Pâhlan, who was a very learned priest of his time and was the author of several works (*vide* my "Persian Farziât-nâme and Kholâseh-i Din of Dastur Darab Pahlân," Text and Version with Notes, pp. 107-118), lived from 1642 to the end of 1735 or some subsequent year. Besides being a learned author of several works, he was a great scribe. Some of the manuscripts of the Vendidad, etc., written by him, have found their way to the libraries of Europe. A Vendidad, written by him in 1735, is at present in the 'Bibliothèque Nationale' of Paris where I had the pleasure of seeing it during my stay in Paris in 1889.

3 Vide my "Persian Farziât-nâme and Kholâseh-i Din, of Dastur Darab Pahlân," Text and Version with notes, pp. 114-15.

(a) Dastur Jamshed became the Dastur of the third chair¹ at Naosari, on the death of his father, the well-known Dastur Jāmâsp Âsâ (1697-1753) in 1753. (b) He was very well received and honoured in 1781, when he came to Bombay. (c) He had written several odes in Persian, which were all collected under the name of "Divân-i Jamshed". (d) Anquetil du Perron saw him at Naosari, on his way back to Surat, while returning from his visit to the Elephanta Caves². (e) He is the Dastur, referred to by Anquetil, as the possessor of a rare manuscript of the Pahlavi Yasna³. This MS. has now found its way to the Bodleian Library of Oxford and is known as J2. It is reproduced in *facsimile* and edited by Dr. Mills. Anquetil says that Dastur Jamshed denied the fact of his possessing it, though, in fact, he did possess it. The fact seems to be that though the MS. belonged to Dastur Jamshed's family at the time when Anquetil asked for it, it had passed into the hands of Dastur Behram, a younger brother of Dastur Jamshed.

(a) Dastur Mānockji Jamshedji Rustamji Meherjirana was a leading member of the Meherji Rana family at the time. (b) He was a leading signatory to the following old documents: 1. One dated the 31st December, 1761, passed by some Naosari priests to Desai Khurshedji, authorising him to take from the Bhagar-sāth common income (*rās* રાસ), Rs. 1091/- which he had given on behalf of the Naosari Anjuman for a Tower of Silence at Surat for the use of those who covered with *padâns* the faces of the dead.⁴ 2. A

1 The heads of five families of priests are allotted special seats, spoken of as *kūrst* or chair, in public gatherings. *Vide* for their *pois* my "Few Events in the History of the Parsees," pp. 138 & 178.

2 "Le Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I," p. 428.

3 *Ibid.*, Partie II, p. 74, Preface.

4 "The Parsee Prakash", Part I, p. 44.

document dated the 2nd October 1776,¹ addressed by the Naosari Anjuman to the Bombay Anjuman, asking them not to prepare a *varaḡyâ* ("sacred bull") in Bombay. (c) He was a leader of the eight courageous priests, who, carried the Sacred Atash Behram Fire² safely to Surat, for protection from desecration, during the attack of the Mahratha freebooters on Naosari in 1776. (d) He was one of the priests who consecrated, in 1764 A.C., at Bharthâna, the Tower of Silence of the Naosari Mobads who were living in Surat and observed the custom of tying the *padân* over the face of the dead.³

(a) Tehmur (تہمور, d. 1728), mentioned here as the father of Sardar Khurshedji Desai, was the well-known Desai Tehmurji Rustamji of Naosari. Though, as stated in the account given above of Desai Khurshedji, the 'Desaigiri' was in his family before his time, he is looked to as the first Desai founder of the family. The Parsees are said to have begun settling in large numbers at Naosari in 1142, when the town was under Hindu rule. With the conquest of Gujarat by Ala-ud-din Khilji in 1297 A.C., Naosari passed under Mahomedan rule. (b) In 1700⁴ A.C., Tehmurji was appointed Chodhri⁵ of Naosari and Parchol by the Mogul Government. (c) The Mahomedan rule was not liked by the people of Naosari, and it was Tehmurji Desai who was instrumental in bringing about the Hindu rule again, in 1720. He met Pilaji Râo Gaikwâr, whose seat of government was then at Sunghad, a few miles away from Naosari. He represented to him that the people were tired of Mogul rule

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, 53.

2 *Ibid.* p. 54.

3 *Ibid.* p. 862.

4 *Ibid.* p. 27.

5 Chodhri was a high post in Mogul times. Under the British, it became a lower post attached to British regiments. I know that a Parsee held that post at the Colaba Cantonment.

and persuaded him to come over to Naosari and take possession of it. Pilaji Rão did so and began to rule there. (d) Our Qisseh speaks of Tehmurji Desai as helping the people and relieving them from domestic taxes ('bāj khāngi', c. 546). This is a reference to his having helped the poor under Mogul rule.¹ (e) But the great help, which seems to have been referred to here, was that which he gave to relieve the poor from the distress caused by the inroads of the Mahratha Pindāris. Thus, he helped the poor by relieving them, both, from the taxes of the Mogul rulers and from the distress caused by the Pindāris. As to the beginning of his 'Desaigiri,' I have spoken above in the account of his son Khurshed, whose name occurs in the Qisseh before his name.

While speaking of Desai Khurshedji, the Qisseh mentions the names both of his father and of his son, to show that he was an illustrious son of an illustrious father, and an illustrious father of an illustrious son. The Minochehr, mentioned here, was Desai Minochehr (1722-1810 A.C.), son of Desai Khurshed. Our Qisseh says that he always recited the Avesta ('Avestā rā dāst dārad,' c. 550), i.e., he was pious. He seems to have been more illustrious than his father, on account of his greater public services, not only to his community but to the public in general, especially in bringing about closer relations between the Gaikwars of Naosari and the British Government. He came to the 'Desaigiri' in 1779, on the death of his father. Amongst his works for the good of his community may be mentioned (a) his work of repairing and renewing the old 'Dar-i Meher' of Naosari in 1795. The 'Dar-i Meher' still bears a tablet recording that event. (b) Along with Mr. Nusserwanji Manockji Wadia of Bombay, he had also undertaken the repairs and reconstruction of

23. Minochehr.
c. 549.

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 28.

the Naosari Atash Behram in 1765.¹ (c) He had a hand in bringing about an arrangement between the British Government under the Governorship of Jonathan Duncan and Ânandrâo Gâikwâr, whereby the British kept a Subsidiary Force of 2000 men at Baroda. In recognition of these valuable services, Ânandrâo Gâikwâr gave him several villages as Jâgir, and the British Government gave him an annuity of Rs. 2,400/-. In 1803, he had some differences with the new Gâikwâr, Kânoba; he had, therefore, to leave Naosari and lived in Surat for some time.

The Qisseh speaks of certain gentlemen of Naosari

24. Nusserwan-
ji, son of Bah-
man. c. 557.

who, by their contributions, helped the work of founding a new Atash Behram at Naosari. Nusserwanji, spoken of in our Qisseh as a leader (Sardar) of

Surat, was one of them. I will give here some particulars about him. (a) He was the fifth son of Bahman, second son of the well-known Rustam Manock of Surat, mentioned, in two couplets later on, as Sett (سبت) Rustam. (b) He was one of the signatories to the testament of his cousin Manockji Nawroji Seth² who died in 1782. (c) He was a great cotton merchant and lived and traded both in Surat and Bombay.³ (d) He was a member of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay.⁴ (e) He had five brothers: (1) Nanabhai, after whom the Nanabhai Bahmanji Street of Bombay is named, (2) Khurshedji, (3) Manockji (1711-99), (4) Shapurji, after whom is named Shapurji Sett's *chucklâ*⁵ (public street) in Fort, and (5) Behramji. (f) He was one of the signatories to a document, addressed by the Surat Parsees, on the

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 118.

2 *Ibid.* p. 37.

3 *Ibid.* p. 88.

4 *Ibid.* p. 88.

5 *Ibid.* p. 88 n.

5th January 1768, to the Dasturs of Broach about the recital of the 'rôz mäh' (day and month) in prayers.¹ (g) We learn from an account of Desai Khurshedji's life, that Nusserwanji's father Bahmanji (Bahman, as mentioned in our Qisseh, c. 558), and his brother Framji, had close relations with the Desais of Naosari. They had helped Desai Khurshedji in building a house for himself.² On their way to Bombay from Surat, which they had to leave to escape from the machinations of the Nawab of Surat, they were helped by Desai Khurshedji, who had also introduced them to Gangaji Rao. When at Naosari, they had presented Khurshedji Desai's mother with a golden bangle worth Rs. 250/- and had presented some gold *mohrs* to Desai Khurshedji himself.³ (h) Bahmanji had contributed Rs. 139-10-0 to the expenses of founding the Naosari Atash Behram.

Bahman, mentioned in our Qisseh as the father of Nusserwanji, is the 'Bomanji' mentioned in a document, dated "London the 19th August 1724" by the then 17 Directors of the English East India Company to their "President and Council of Bombay."⁴ Owing to some dispute about money between the Factories at Surat and Bombay on the one hand, and he and his brothers Framji and Nawroji on the other, he was confined in his own house at Bombay. His brother Nawroji had gone to England and secured justice at the hands of the Directors.

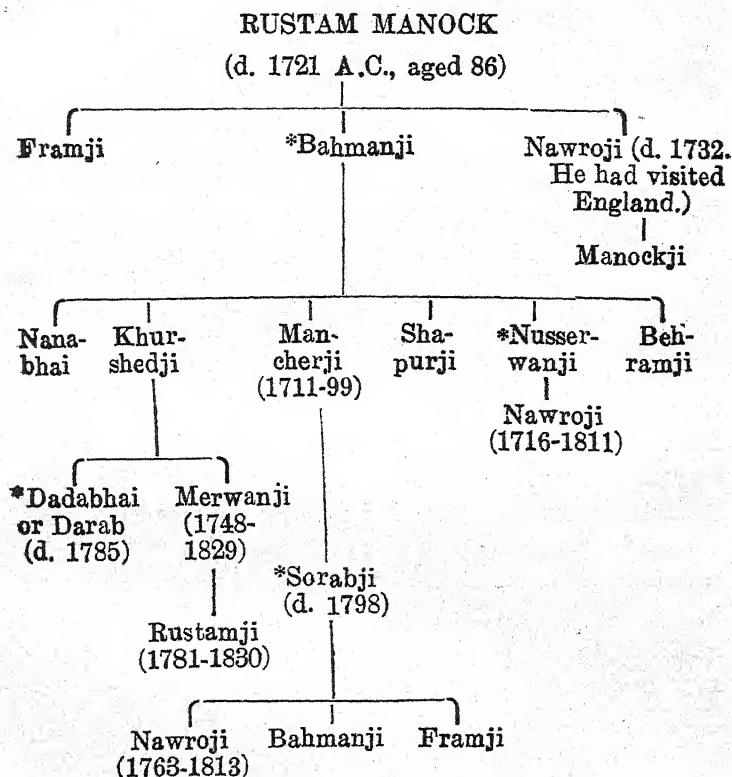
1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 863.

2 Mr. Palonji Burjorji Desai's "History of the Desai Family," p. 10, col. 1. *Vide* Desai Khurshedji's own autobiographical account *ibid.* p. 98).

3 *Ibid.* p. 10.

4 For a photo facsimile copy of this document, *vide* my paper on "Rustom Manock, the Broker of the English East India Company" Jour. B. B. R. A. S. 125 Years' Centenary Volume. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV. *Vide* Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodiwala's "History of the Seth Khandan Family," published by Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Seth.

The following family tree shows the descent from Rustam Manock of Nusserwanji and his other relatives mentioned in the Qisseh. Their names are marked with an asterisk :—



Sett (سبت) Rustam (1635-1721 A.C.), from whom, as stated by our Qisseh, Nusserwanji was descended, is the well-known Rustam Manock, for whom a separate Qisseh is written in Persian, named 'Qisseh-i-Rustam Manock.' I have given that Qisseh in Persian, with my version and notes and other particulars, in one of my papers read before the B.

25. Sett Rustam. c. 559.

B. Royal Asiatic Society,¹ in 1929. (a) He was a broker of three European Factories—the English, the Portuguese and the Dutch. (b) He had relieved his Parsee co-religionists and even some poor non-Parsees from the oppressive *Jazieh*, imposed by Aurangzeb, and (c) from the distress caused by the sack of Surat by Shivaji. (d) He had visited the court of Aurangzeb accompanying an ambassador from England.² (e) He had visited Goa and released the ship of a Mahomedan merchant of Surat captured by the Portuguese and carried to Goa.²

(a) This Sohrab (1737-1792) who, our author says, was called Sett by merchants (*tojjar*, 26. Sohrab. c. 564) and other great men, was the great-grandson of Rustam Manock. He 562. was the son of Mancherji Bahmanji Sett. (b) He had married the daughter of his father's cousin Manockji Nawroji Seth, who had adopted him, having no male issue. He was, therefore, known as Sohrabji Manockji Seth. His cousin Dadabhai Khurshedji Seth had married another daughter of Manockji Seth, who had adopted him also. Sohrab carried on the affairs of his father-in-law and adoptive father Manockji in Surat and his father Mancherji attended to Manockji's affairs in Bombay. (c) But, in 1785, he came to Bombay and settled here to look after Manockji's charities. His cousin, Dadabhai Khurshedji Sethna, was his colleague in the management. (d) In the great famine of Gujarat of 1790 A.C., known as the Sadtala Famine (સડતલા ઝંઝાર, i.e., the famine of the Samvat year 1847), he helped the poor Parsees of Surat and of other places in

1 "Rustam Manock, the Broker of the English East India Company (1699 A.C.) and the Persian Qisseh of Rustam Manock. A Study," (The 125 Years' Anniversary Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 101-320).

2 For full particulars of his life and for those of his sons Framji, Bahmanji and Nawroji, *vide* my paper on Rustam Manock, *op. cit.*

Gujarat who were driven by the famine to Bombay. He allowed them to be kept and fed at the 'Manockji Seth's Wâdi' in the Fort, then known as the 'Punchayet Wadi,' as it was for the use of the Parsee public (Punchayet). (e) On the 24th November, 1796, he founded a 'Dar-i Meher' at Baharkote, Bombay, in the sacred memory of his father Mancherji. The Sacred Fire is now removed to Tardeo and is still known as 'Mancherji Seth's Agiari.'¹ (f) He is said to have added, out of the charity fund at his disposal, an *otlâ*, "a dining pavilion," to the above 'Manockji Seth's Wâdi' founded by his adoptive father and father-in-law.² (g) He was a leading signatory to a document addressed on the 3rd September, 1769, by some Parsees of Surat to Desai Khurshedji Tehmurji of Naosari, complaining that the Naosari Mobads, who worked at Rustampura in Naosari, wanted to make a new arrangement for the performance of religious ceremonies which was not liked by the laymen of Surat³. (h) He was one of the signatories to an important document dated the 13th July, 1795, written in Bombay, at the request of the then officer of Government, known as the Mayor, expressing an opinion that it was the son of a male descendant or relative and not that of a female descendant who could be adopted by a person having no male issue. The case was decided, on the authority of that document, in favour of the male descendant. On an appeal made by the opposing party, the Appeal Court also upheld the Mayor's decision; but, in the end, the Higher Court in England, then known as the King in Council (the predecessor of our present Privy Council), overthrew the decision of the Mayor and the Appeal Court and decided in favour of the appellants, the lady-descendants.⁴

1 "The Parsee Prakash", Part I, pp. 74 and 85; pp. 81-82.

2 *Ibid.* p. 37, n. 1.

3 *Ibid.* p. 46.

4 *Ibid.* p. 80.

(i) Another case, in which he was personally concerned, was lodged against him before the King's Council. By virtue of a clause in the testament of his adoptive father, Manockji Seth, the Parsee Punchayet of Bombay, had lodged a complaint against him and his father Mancherji that they were not properly managing the charities of Manockji. The Mayor decided in favour of the Punchayet. Sohrabji appealed to the Governor-in-Council, who overruled the Mayor's decision. The Punchayet then appealed to the King in Council who upheld the decision of the Governor-in-Council. The case went on for nine years, and the total cost on Sohrabji's side came to about Rs. 9,945/-.¹

(a) The Darab Sett referred to is Dadabhai Khurshedji Seth (1738-1785), great-grandson of Rustam Manock. He also was, like Sohrab, son-in-law and adopted son of Manockji Nawroji Seth, and was, therefore, named Dadabhai Manockji Seth. He is spoken of as Darab in our Qisseh. One and the same person is, at times, spoken of as Darab or Dadabhai, in which case they take Dadabhai to be another form of Darabbhai, though, really speaking, Dadabhai is a Hindu name. (b) From 1759, he carried on the affairs of his adoptive father Manockji at Surat. (c) Then, he traded on his own account with China, Mecca and other places.² (d) In 1785, he came to Bombay to administer the affairs of Manockji Seth in conjunction with Sohrabji, the other adopted son, but died in the same year, 1785, at the young age of 47. On his death, his younger brother Merwanji Khurshedji Seth (1748-1829) filed a suit for his (Dadabhai or Darabji's) share in the partnership business with Sohrabji, and, it is said,

27. Darab Sett,
c. 566.

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 84.

2 *Ibid.* p. 65.

that the suit lasted for thirty years, conducted first in the Mayor's Court and then in the Recorder's Court.¹ He had no son, and his estate was inherited by his nephew and son-in-law, Merwanji Khurshedji Sethna (1781-1830), whom he had adopted. (e) He was a signatory, with his cousin and colleague Sohrabji mentioned above (who then signed as Sohrabji Mancherji Seth, to the letter above referred to, dated the 3rd September, 1769, to Desai Khurshedji on a sacerdotal matter.² (f) Similarly, he was a signatory, with his cousin, to the letter, dated the 5th January, 1768, referred to above, written by some Parsees of Surat to the Dasturs of Broach in the matter of the recital of the *rôz mâh*.³ (g) He and his colleague, Sohrabji, were owners of the plots of ground which, by a document dated the 9th October, 1801, were acquired by the Turf Club then founded by Messrs. Charles Forbes, G. Hall, A. Campbell, P. Hadeau and others.⁴ These plots were acquired to extend the Race-Course. (h) He owned a property in the Fort of Bombay, which was burnt in the great fire of 1813, along with other 199 houses.

(i) Besides his gift in coin to the Naosari Atash Behram, referred to in our Qisseh, he is said to have presented two pieces of ground—one of seven bighās and another of twenty bighās—in the district of Naosari for defraying, out of their produce, the annual expenses of the 'Atash Behram.⁵ These pieces of ground previously belonged to Sayyad Shafula, known as Bada Saheb. This Sayyad had, through Desai Khurshedji, mortgaged these plots to Dadabhai for a sum of Rs. 300/-. As he could not release the mortgage, Dadabhai presented the land to the Naosari Atash Behram.

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 217.

2 *Ibid.* p. 46.

3 *Ibid.* p. 863.

4 *Ibid.* pp. 881-882.

5 *Ibid.* p. 883.

6 *Ibid.* p. 863.

Minochehr Khurshid Sett is the well-known Mancherji

28. Minochehr Khurshid Sett. Khurshedji Nowroji Sethna (1714-1784 A.C.). (a) He was a leading Parsee of Surat. (b) He was a broker of the Dutch

Factory. (c) Anquetil du Perron refers to him, more than once, in his *Zend Avesta*¹. Mancherji Seth was a strong partizan of the Shehenshahi sect, and Anquetil's teacher, Dastur Darab, was a leading priest of the Kadimi sect. In his attempts to domineer over Dastur Darab, Anquetil, therefore, seemed to take advantage of the differences between the two parties.

(d) Mancherji and his father were, at first, in the service of Manockji Seth, Rustam Manock's grandson. So, perhaps, he also began to be known as Seth. Or, perhaps, the people, on account of his fame as an influential and useful man of the city, may have begun to speak of him as 'Seth,' just as they had done in the case of Rustam Manock. (e) He seems to have had closer relations and much correspondence with Desai Khurshedji. (f) He had influence with the Modis of Surat. It is through him that Desai Khurshedji corresponded, in 1754, with Modi Boghabhai, who was then in Bombay, as regards an important case relating to a complaint against the Naosari priests officiating in Bombay.²

(g) Like the Seths of the Rustam Manock family, he was also descended from a family of well-known priests. He was descended from Behram Farâmarz, a great Dastur of Surat, in his time. Fardunji Marzbanji, founder of the Marzban family of Bombay, and Dastur Darab Kumânâ, Anquetil du Perron's teacher at Surat, were also descended from Behram Farâmarz. I have traced

1 "Le Zend Avesta, L'Ouvrage de Zoroastre," Tome I, Partie I, pp. 316 ff. *Vide* my "Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Darab."

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 39.

the descent of these personages from their common ancestor in my paper on Dastur Darab.¹

(h) The following are his benevolent works :— (1) He had built a Dharmashālā for Zoroastrians at Sindhiwad in Surat² and dedicated it to charity on the 23rd October, 1711. (2) He had built a Tower of Silence in the village of Nargol near Sanjan, in 1767.³ (3) A Tower of Silence was built, under his management, at the expense of the Anjuman, near Kānkrākhārī in Surat. It was consecrated on the 10th June, 1771. Though built from the funds of the Anjuman, it is still known as Mancherji Seth's Dakhma. His own share in the general subscription was said to be double that of all the others. This Tower of Silence is known to be the largest in India⁴. (4) He had built several wells with reservoirs for cattle to drink at Satvalā, Sachin and Lajpore outside of Surat and at Frāmpurā and Salābatpurā in Surat.⁵ (5) He is said to have given in charity a piece of ground known as Kiārī (કિયારી),⁶ for the expenses of the Naosari Atash Behram.

(i) It appears from a letter, dated the 31st August, 1754, written by Desai Khurshedji to the Mobads of Bombay, that Desai Khurshedji had sought the help of Mancherji Seth to influence Modi Boghabhai of Bombay in the matter of a dispute between two Naosari Mobads officiating in Bombay, as their personal dispute interfered in the performance of their sacerdotal duties towards the laymen.⁷ This fact shows that Mancherji

1 *Vide* my paper on "Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Darab" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 385-456.) *Vide* my "Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Darab," pp. 73-78.

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 43.

3 *Ibid.* p. 45.

4 *Ibid.* pp. 47-48 for full particulars.

5 *Ibid.* p. 65.

6 *Ibid.* p. 863.

7 *Ibid.* p. 39.

Seth was an influential man of Surat, and in a position to influence Modi Boghabhai, a leading man of Bombay, who was, at first, a resident of Surat.

(j) He was one of the leading signatories, with Sohrabji Seth and Dadabhai Seth mentioned above, to a letter addressed to Khurshedji Desai, dated the 3rd September, 1769, referred to above, complaining against the Naosari priests of Rustampurā in Surat.¹ (k) Most of the property of the Parsee Punchayet of Surat was held, among others, in his name and that of Framji Rustamji Sethna.²

(l) In 1768, he had helped the Godāvra Mobads in one of their sacerdotal affairs³. (m) Along with his brother Kavasji and some others of the priestly families of Surat, he was a defendant in a suit filed in the Court of Nawab Tegbegkhan, on the 28th October, 1741. The defendants were directed to allow the requisite religious ceremonies to be performed by the Bhagaria Mobads of Naosari living in Surat, and not by the local Mobads of the city, for the families of the Sanjana Mobads and the laymen, who had, owing to the depredations of the Mahratha Pindaris, left Naosari and stayed for good at Surat.

(n) He was one of the signatories, with Sohrabji Sethna and Dadabhai Sethna, to a letter of the 5th January, 1768, referred to above, asking the people of Broach to stick to the practice of reciting their own *rôz māk* (day and month) in the recital of their prayers.⁴

(o) Edalji Kavasji Seth (1752-1839), who, later on, was well-known among the Parsees of Surat for his charity and some works of public utility, was the son of Mancherji's brother Kavasji Khurshedji Seth, who also was well-known

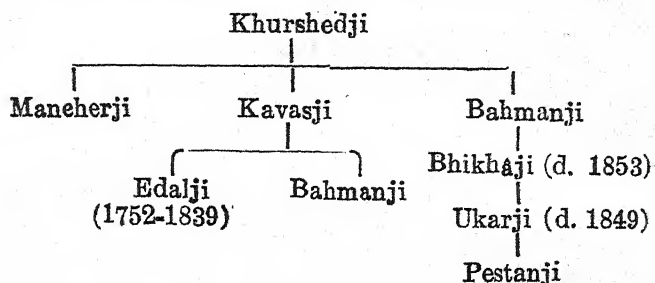
1 *Vide* "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 40.

3 *Ibid.* p. 840.

2 *Ibid.* p. 510.

4 *Ibid.* p. 863.

as a leader of the Community. Mancherji had no son and had, therefore, adopted his nephew Bahmanji Kavasji Sethi. The following table shows the descent of his brother's sons:—



(p) I have heard many stories about him in Bombay from the late Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala of Surat and from others. He was said to have been called "Manchi" (मन्ची) by the Nawab. He had very great influence with the Nawab, but, still, none, in the Court of the Nawab, could say when he would incur the Nawab's displeasure. Men of influence at Court have to count upon emergencies of this kind. So, he is said to have provided himself with a very swift pair of oxen for his carriage, to run away in case of emergency and hide himself somewhere till the intensity of the displeasure had passed away. To keep this pair of oxen always in practice and in good form, he had ordered them to be taken to drink water at the river of Lajpore, every day, which is at a distance of about eight or ten miles from Surat. He is said to have had very great influence at the Court of the Mogul Emperors at Delhi, and at times, he counted upon their help. But, he tried to avoid the crisis so far as he could.

Again, it is said that the Nawab had employed some Parsees as domestic servants, whom, at times, he used to ask to fill up his *hooka* or smoking pipe with tobacco. The Parsee servants, out of their reverence for fire, did

not like to do that work, which they were compelled to do. So, they once spoke about the matter to Mancherji Seth. Mancherji told one of them to fill up the pipe with dried dung, night soil or some such dirty stuff in place of tobacco and to make himself scarce after handing the pipe to the Nawâb. He told the servant that he would take care of him and his family, if the worst happened. The servant did as Mancherji Seth had asked him to do. The Nawâb, on smoking the *hooka* thus prepared, got awefully angry and sent for the servant to be punished. The servant could not be found. The time of crisis passed off and the Nawâb complained to Mancherji Seth about the servant. Mancherji Seth smoothed matters and advised the Nawâb not to ask his Parsee servants to fill up the *hooka*.

(q) The Qisseh speaks of Mancherji as young (javân, c. 576), at the time when he corresponded with Desai Khurshedji in the matter of the Atash Behram. As he was born in about 1714 A.C. he must be about (1765—1714=) 51 at the time the Naosari Atash Behram was prepared in 1765.

Mancherji Seth
referred to by
Stavorinus.

Stavorinus, a Dutch officer, while writing about the Parsees of Surat, in his work of travels,¹ in 1774, refers to Mancherji Seth and says that he was a broker of the Dutch and was a leading Parsee. He writes:—
“Two of them, one of whom Mantcherji by name is a broker of the Dutch, and the other² of the English Coy. are the chiefs of the Parsees who dwell in and about Surat;

1 “Voyages to the East Indies,” by J. S. Stavorinus, translated from the original Dutch by S. H. Wilcocke, Vol. II, pp. 494-498, 504-5. Vol. III, pp. 1, 25.

2 As mentioned by the “Parsee Prakash,” Part I, p. 865, he was Dhanjishah Manjishah.

they are at the same time their chief ecclesiastics or priests; they likewise settle the disputes that arise among them, and the parties must submit to their decisions; murder, homicide and other crimes amongst them, which disturb the public tranquillity, are punished by the *nabob*, or governor of the city; he however acts very circumspectly in such cases, because he stands more in awe of the Parsees than the Moors or Gentoos, on account of their large numbers and greater courage, whereby they are left, in some measure, independent; such heavy crimes, I was told, are very seldom heard of among them; and besides, as they all live in separate wards, in which they do not allow any strangers to reside, many things may remain hidden among them."

The passage quoted above from Stavorinus shows that, as a leader of the Parsee community of Surat, Mancherji looked into and decided cases relating to social matters. An instance of this kind, illustrating what is said above, is found in a letter, dated the 31st October, 1775, addressed to him by Dastur Kamdinji Fardunji of Surat, wherein the writer requests Mancherji Seth to keep an eye upon two cases—one, of a Parsee woman, who thought of marrying another person, leaving her former husband, and another, of a Parsee male, who thought of marrying a second wife, though the first was living.¹

Anquetil du Perron refers to Mancherji more than once in his *Zend Avesta*.² We gather the Mancherji Seth, referred to by Anquetil du Perron, following information:—(1) He was opposed to the reform of the calendar suggested by some Persian Zoroastrians who had come to India.³ (2) He was a broker (courtier) of the Dutch Factory whose

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 866.

2 "Le Zend Avesta, l'Ouvrage de Zoroastre," Tome I, Partie I, pp. 280, 294, 307, 316, 327, 329, 364.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 316, 327.

head was M. Taillefer. His influence increased with this position. (3) He was "the head of the Parsees of Surat" (le premier des Parses de Surate, p. 315). (4) He possessed rare manuscripts of the Avesta. Among these, one was a Zend and Pahlavi Vendidad, which was "the most authentic and the most exact." Anquetil compared this MS. with the manuscript he had from his teacher Dastur Darab.¹ (5) He was the son of a Mobad.² (6) He was the favourite of Ali Nawaz Khan, the Governor of Surat. (7) As Mancherji was supported by the Dutch factory, the followers of the Kadimi sect sought the support of the French Factory, the head of which was M. le Verrier. They did this through Anquetil du Perron, whose favour his teacher Darab sought by helping him with his manuscripts.³ Anquetil took advantage of the quarrel between the two Parsi sects, and secured manuscripts from both,⁴ making a show of helping each of them or setting one against the other. All this happened in 1759 A.C. (8) With the advent of a new Nawâb, Mancherji had to suffer great distress and trouble. The Nawâb did not like the Dutch Factory erecting a new building without the permission of the Government. Again, the Dutch had incurred the displeasure of the Mahrathas in Broach, by putting to death some of their leading men. The Mahrathas demanded a ransom of Rupees ten lacs for the loss they had suffered. As a result of all these, Mancherji was arrested by the Nawâb. He and a Hindu named Manockchand (Manik-schen), Divan of the former Nawâb Sabdar Khân, were taken to be the prime sources of all the wrongs attributed to the Dutch. A ransom of four lacs was required of Mancherji. Until he paid the ransom, guards were set over him and he was charged Rs. 500/- for maintaining them. He was given.

1 "Le Zend Avesta, l'Ouvrage de Zoroastre," pp. 315-17.

2 *Ibid.* p. 327. 3 *Ibid.* p. 328. 4 *Ibid.* p. 329.

very bad treatment in prison, to such an extent that they forced excreta in his mouth. The Dutch protested against all this brutality and captured seven or eight Muhammadan ships in the bundar. The merchants of these vessels, being hard pressed, represented the matter to the Nawâb, who was forced to come to terms with the Dutch, one of the terms being to set free Mancherji at once.¹ The Dutch, who had gone away to their ships, returned to Surat in triumph, and the people of Surat came to welcome them upto Ombrâ,² a large Parsee town situated on the river.³ Anquetil has accused Mancherji of abusing the confidence Ali Nawâz Khân had placed in him.⁴ (9) Mancherji was imprisoned once again. A quarrel took place in the bazar owing to the conduct of Farâsh Khân's son. The Parsees beat the peons of this son, and were, therefore, imprisoned. A brother of Mancherji was amongst them. When Mancherji went to secure his release, he, too, was arrested. He was not in the good graces of the English factors. The Dutch went once again to Mancherji's rescue and demanded his release. Farâsh Khân, at first, refused to set him free. There were great chances of a fight between the Dutch and the English. This fight, had it taken place, would have done much harm to the merchants who, therefore, requested Farâsh Khân to release Mancherji, and he was set free.⁵

Later on, Mancherji offered to arrange the purchase of some Sanskrit books of the Vedas for Anquetil.⁶

1 "Le Zend Avesta, l'Ouvrage de Zoroastre," Tome I, p. 280.

2 This Parsee town of Ombrâ is Umrâ (ઉમરા) which is now all deserted, most of it being washed away by the inroads of the river Tapti. This town has given its name to the well-known Umrigar (ઉમરિગર) family now residing in Bombay.

3 "Le Zend Avesta," Tome I, p. 180.

4 *Ibid.* p. 294.

5 *Ibid.* p. 307.

6 *Ibid.* pp. 336 and 394.

Dastur Shâpurji Sanjânâ's Qisseh refers to a reply

Payment in coin
by the Seths for
the expenses of
the Naosari Atash
Behram.

from three members of the family of
Rustam Mânock Seth and from Mancherji
Seth to the Naosari Anjuman, expressing
their willingness to pay their mite for
the expenses of the Atash Behram. In this connection,
I will quote here, what I have said in my article on "the
Kisseh-i Atash Behram-i Naosari," in the issue of the
Zartoshti of Meher, 1278 Yazdajardi, (Vol. VI, No. 3, p.
181, ff.):—

"During my visit to Naosari in May 1903, I had an
occasion to see an original account book, which showed the
money transactions of Desai Khurshedji of Naosari, with
Mancherji Seth of Surat, for the Samvat year 1822 (A.D.
1766). Therein, I find the following entry:—

“શેકલ શ્રી મનચેરજી ખુરશેદજી શુરતનાનું ખાતું શંવત
૧૮૨૨ બાવીશથી હિતાઈ છે.

જ

ઉ

૧૦૩૯૧૧=માહા શુદ્ધ ૯ રવેજી બાબત શી
આતશબેહરામના ખરચનાં
૩. ૧૩૩૯૧૧=તેમાંથી બાદ
૩. ૩૦૦ ત્રણશેઠ્ઠે અમારા
હીરાનાં ગયા બાકી
શુરતના હીરા ૪ નાં ૩.
૧૦૩૯૧૧=૩૧૬૬૧ તમારે
કબુલા તેની વીગત.
૧૩૯૧૧=શેક શ્રી નોશોર-
વાનજી બમનજીનાં
૩૦૦ શેકલ શ્રી સોરાબજી
મનોચેરજીનાં
૩૦૦ તમારા હીરાનાં
૩૦૦ શેકલ શ્રી દાદાભાઈ
માનકજી

૧૦૩૯૧૧=

"Translation.

"The Account of Sethji Mancherji Khurshedji of Surat, produced from Samvat 1822.

*Credit**Debit*

Rs. 1,039-10 Mâh Shud 9 Sunday. For the expense of the Âtash Behrâm Rs. 1,339-10-0. Out of this, subtract Rs. 300 of my share. The balance Rs. 1,039-10 as share from Surat, as agreed upon by you. Its details:
 Rs. 139-10 From Mr. Nusserwanji Bahmanji.
 „ 300- 0 From Mr. Sohrabji Mancherji.
 „ 300- 0 Your share.
 „ 300- 0 From Mr. Dadabhai Manockji.

"From this account, we learn that the co-operation of the Surat Parsee leaders, referred to by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana in his poem, was a substantial money-payment. The first person, referred to in the poem, Nusserwan, son of Bahman, paid Rs. 139-10-0 as his contribution. The second person, Sohrab, who, as we see from the genealogical table, was the son of Mancherji, paid Rs. 300 as his mite. The third person, Darab, who is spoken of in the table and in the account book as Dadabhai (Darabji and Dadabhai are interchangeable names even now, the same person being called by these two names), paid Rs. 300. From the table, we see that he was the son of Khurshedji, a grandson of Rustam Manock. But, as he was the adopted son of Manockji Seth, he was called in the account book Dadabhai Manockji.

"The fourth person, referred to in the poem, Minochehr, son of Khurshed, is the person with whom Desai Khurshedji's account ran. He paid Rs. 300."

This statement of account supports the statement of the Qisseh that the three Seth brothers and Seth Mancherji Khurshedji had promised to pay their mite for the expenses of the Atash Behram. They accordingly paid their share as promised in the account of Mancherji Seth. The account states the amount to be 'આતશ બેદેરામના ખર્ચનાં,' i.e., "for the Atash Behram expenses."

Besides his share of the payment in cash, we find that Mancherji Seth had played another prominent part in connection with the Naosari Fire-temple. From the same account book we learn that Mancherji Seth had come to Naosari and had distributed a sum of Rs. 906/- among the assembled priesthood of all the different denominations or 'panthaks,' on the day of the final opening or consecration of the Fire-temple.

We find that besides the cash payment, members of the Seth family had made gifts of land to disburse out of its income the annual expenses of the Atash Behram. (a) Dârâb or Dâdâbhâi Seth gave two pieces of land, of 27 'bighâs' in area, at Naosari,¹ and (b) Mancherji Seth gave a piece of land known as *Kiâri*, (કેયારી).²

The Dastur Dârâb whose 'nuskheh,' i.e., "manuscript copy," is referred to, as having been produced by Dastur Sohrâb, seems to be Dârâb Hormazdyâr, the learned compiler of the Rivâyat, known by his name. The other well-known compiler, Barzo Kâmdin, was his father's uncle. Both were the descendants of Nâgan Râm mentioned above.³ His line of descent from Nâgan Râm is as follows:—Nâgan

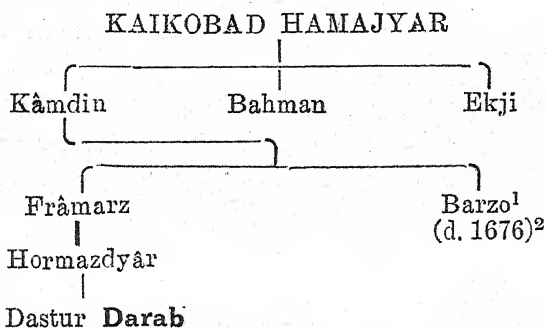
29. Dastur Dârâb. c. 595.

1 *Vide* above, p. 73; "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 863.

2 *Ibid.* *Vide* above, p. 75.

3 *Vide* above, p. 52.

Râm—Narsang—Kâmâ—Padam—Hamajyâr — Kaikobâd — Kâmdin—Frâmarz—Hormazdyâr—Dârâb. Bahman Kaikobâd, the well-known author of the Qisseh-i Sanjan, which our author generally follows in the early part of his Qisseh, was his grandfather's uncle. The following table of descent, drawn from their common ancestor Kaikobâd Hamajyâr, the sixth in the above line of descent, shows at a glance the relationship of these three learned Dasturs of the seventeenth century :—



The Rivâyat known as Dastur Dârâb Hormazdyâr's is not only a compilation but contains some original pieces composed by him. For a fuller account of his work, I will refer my readers to my Introduction to the lithographed edition of his Rivâyat.³ A 'nuskheh' written by him ('az khat-i Dârâb,' c. 595) is referred to in our Qisseh as very important. It is the MS. of his Rivâyat, known as "Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyat." In Ervad Manockji's lithographed

1 *Vide* Prof. S. H. Hodivala's Translation of the Qisseh-i-Sanjân, in his "Studies in Parsi History," (1920), for these three learned relatives. Foreword, pp. 92-95. Prof. Hodivala points out that Barzo Kâmdin is referred to even in the Dabistan; the "Tarrau of Busawari" is Barzo of Naosari (p. 93).

2 *Vide* "The Dishapothi of Naosari," published by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Publication No. 6, Intro. p. 31.

3 "Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyat," by Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvala, with my Introduction (1922), pp. 55-58.

edition, the section marked by me as section V in my list of Contents,¹ treats of Fires and Fire-temples.² There, in the subjects relating to the picking up of the fire burning a corpse, the sixteen fires and the founding of a Fire-temple are referred to at some length.³ A very old copy of the Rivâyat, in the handwriting of Dârâb Hormazdyâr himself, exists in the Bombay University Library. I have given a detailed description of this rare old MS. in my "Introduction."⁴ There are more than one colophons, bearing dates varying from the 11th May, 1678, to the 21st November, 1679.⁵

A 'Nuskheh' is referred to, a little above, in our Qisseh (c. 542), as having come from Iran ('ze Irân amad-ast'). This seems to be a reference to the Rivâyat of Kâmah Bohrah, which Dârâb Hormazdyâr takes as his authority.⁶ Kâmah Bohrah's Rivâyat speaks, at some length, about Atash Behrams, and says that there must be an Atash Behram in a city where Zoroastrians live.

هر جائی که بهدینان و بسته کستیان باشند باید که آتش
ورهرام اندر آن شهر و جایگاه باشد⁸

Desai Jivanji Mânockji (1709-1773) was a leading Parsee of Naosari. I will repeat here

30. Desai Jivan
Mânock. cc. 598-99.

what I have said elsewhere⁷: "During my visit to Naosari in May 1903, I saw

a number of original letters and documents in which

1 "Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyat," Introduction, p. 59.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 60-78. 3 *Ibid.* pp. 69, 74, 76. 4 *Ibid.* pp. 38-39.

5 I have given the Christian dates, counting them from the Yazdajardi dates. *Vide Ibid.* pp. 38-39 for the dates.

6 *Ibid.* p. 76.

7 *Vide* my article: "Kisseh-i Âtash Behrâm-i Naosari" in the issue of the *Zartoshti*, dated Meher, 1278 Yazdajardi, Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 183, n. 3.

his name and that of Desai Khurshedji are mentioned in the beginning as those of prominent leaders of the Bhagaria priests. In some letters, his name is mentioned even before that of Desai Khurshedji." He was related to Desai Khurshedji from the ancestral line. Faridun Kâmdin bin Dastur Khurshed bin Dastur Behrâm Pâhlan was their common ancestor. Faridun Kâmdin's eldest son Homji was the ancestor of the "Mohta Desais" and his younger son Behram that of the "Poliâ Desais." The family tree of Desai Khurshedji given above¹ traces his descent.

We see from that tree that Desai Jivanji belonged to the "Poliâ Desai" family. His father Desai Manockji Homjibhai (d. 1730) had come to the 'Desaigiri', on the death of his father Homjibhai in 1706. Jivanji came to the 'Desaigiri' in 1730. He had some dispute with Desai Khurshedji, whose family was known as that of the "Mohta Desais." In the time of Dâmâji Rao Gàikwâr, in 1746, the limits of the *vatans* of their Desaigiri were settled. He had great influence with the Court of the Gàikwârs and held a high position in the Parsee community of Naosari.² He was one of the addressees or signatories—his signature preceded that of Desai Khurshedji—in the following important documents of Naosari:—

(1) A document, dated the 5th April, 1732, declaring temporary peace between the Bhagaria and the Minochehromji priests who had separated from the Bhagarias.³

(2) A document, dated the 18th April, 1732, appointing some priests in charge of the 'panthak' of Gandevi.⁴

(3) A document, dated the 29th May, 1732, passed by the Sanjana Mobads, agreeing to resume the old stipulations

1 *Vide* above, facing p. 57.

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 50.

3 *Ibid.* p. 28.

4 *Ibid.* p. 29.

as to officiating within their proper sphere of work.¹

(4) A document, dated the 3rd June, 1734, passed by the Rustampurâ Mobads to the Naosari Anjuman, accepting certain stipulations as to the performance of ecclesiastical duties at Surat.²

(5) A document, dated the 18th January, 1735, passed by the Behedins ("laymen") of Naosari to the Bhagaria priests, in virtue of the decision of Gangâji Râo Gàikwâr, referred to above, given in favour of the Bhagaria Mobads led by Desai Khurshedji.³

(6) A document, dated the 27th April, 1741, addressed by the leading Mobads of Naosari to Desai Khurshedji, authorising him to conduct proceedings in Court against the Sanjânâ and the Surat Mobads who had encroached upon their rights, first paying all the requisite expenses himself, and then recouping the same from the general income (સામાન્ય આવક)⁴ of the Bhagaria priests.

(7) A document, dated the 25th April, 1749, addressed by the Bombay Anjuman to the Naosari Anjuman in the matter of keeping the feet of dead bodies stretched out (સાથે, lit. "long") instead of folding (ઘૂંટણે) them. The Bombay Anjuman wrote that they had resolved to leave the question to the choice of the people, that every one might do as he liked.⁵ At one time, this was one of the few burning questions relating to custom, in the matter of which there was a great difference of opinion.⁶

(8) A document, dated the 31st December, 1761, passed

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 29.

2 *Ibid.* p. 30.

3 *Ibid.* p. 31.

4 *Ibid.* p. 34.

5 *Ibid.* p. 38. *Vide* my "History of the Parsee Panchayet," Vol. I, p. 67.

6 For these questions, *vide* Mr. B. B. Patel's article in the "K. R. Cama Memorial Volume" edited by me.

by the Naosari Anjuman to Desai Khurshedji asking him to recoup, from the general income of the 'Bhagar-sâth' Mobads (ભગર સાથની રસ), Rs. 1091/- which he had paid on behalf of the Naosari Anjuman for erecting at Surat the *Padâni* Tower, i.e., the Tower in which the faces of dead bodies were covered with *padâns*.¹

(9) A document, dated the 6th May, 1735, passed by the Mobads of Surat to the Naosari people, accepting the terms of appointment offered to them to act as Mobads at Surat².

(10) An undated document of the year 1736 A.C., addressed by a number of Naosari leaders to Nawâb Tegbegkhân of Surat, requesting the Nawâb to send a duly certified copy of the decision in the case in which it was adjudged that the Naosari Mobads, domiciled in Surat, had the privilege to officiate in the houses of the Sanjânâ Mobads and the Naosari laymen who had settled at Surat for good to avoid the afflictions caused by the frequent inroads of the Mahrathas in Naosari.³

(11) A document, dated the 2nd November, 1823, passed by the Naosari leaders to the Mobad leaders of the Seth family, stating that there was no objection to eat flesh on the four *hamkârâ* days—Bahman, Mohr, Gosh, and Râm.⁴ At one time, the Parsee Punchayet of Bombay insisted that the Parsees should abstain from eating flesh on the days associated with Bahman, the Yazata presiding over animals. The Naosari Mobads objected to that prohibition.⁵

Desai Jivanji was one of the members of the deputation which was sent to Gangâji Râo Gâikwâr at Sungadh, on

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 44.

2 *Ibid.* p. 852.

3 *Ibid.* p. 853.

4 *Ibid.* p. 878.

5 *Vide* my "History of the Parsee Punchayet," Vol. I, p. 275.

behalf of the Bhagaria Mobads, in the matter of the long-standing dispute with the Sanjânâ Mobads,¹ on the 5th September, 1740. His eldest son, Tehmulji (1728-1778), succeeded him to the office of 'Desaigiri,' and was presented with a dress of honour (સર સુત્ર) by Fatehsing Gâikwâr,² in 1777.

Râo Kedârji was the ruling Gâikwâr of Naosari at

31. Râo Kedârji. the time of consecration of the Atash
c. 718. Behram of Naosari, in 1765 A.C.

Our author gives his name Shâpur in the preceding part of the Qisseh (c. 505); but, he gives

32. Shâpur Mâ- his full name at the end: Shâpur,
noek Behrâm, cc. son of Mânock, son of Behrâm, descendant
769-770. (*naslash*, cc. 767-78) of Dastur Neryo-

sang son of Dhawal. He calls himself a Mobad by profession ('mûbadî mî-sâzad,' c. 771). As stated above, he lived from 1735 to 1805. He does not give in his Qisseh the date of composing it. As the Atash Behram, of which he gives the account, was consecrated in 1765 A.C., he must have written the Qisseh in or after 1765, on or after attaining the age of thirty-five. Mr. Bahmanji B. Patel says³ that he had taken some part in the preparation and consecration of the Naosari Atash Behram, but, he adds, later on, that he has no written authority⁴ for this statement which he had heard from one of the descendants of Shâpur's family, to whom the information may have come down orally. But, from the fact that our author speaks of his being a Mobad by profession, it seems quite probable that he may be one of the hundred Mobads selected for the performance of the ritual. As he was well-versed in religious lore, which he had acquired from his learned uncle, Dastur Rustam Behrâm, who was a preceptor of several persons,

1 See above, p. 59; "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 854.

2 *Ibid.* p. 57.

3 *Ibid.* p. 102.

4 *Ibid.* p. 870.

who turned out great Dasturs and, as he was also a practising Mobad, it is more than probable that he should have been one of the hundred Mobads selected for the ceremony of consecration of the Naosari Atash Behram.

Dastur Shapurji seems to have acquired all his religious knowledge from his uncle Dastur Rustamji Behramji (1719-1791), who was a learned Dastur of Surat. Dastur Rustamji is said to have translated the Khurdaĥ Avesta and the Hâdokht Nask into Persian, as also Dastur Âdarbâd Mârespand's Pâzand commentary of the Hâdokht Nask.¹ Dastur Rustamji is said to have prepared a translation of this kind, in 1778, at the instance of Mr. Dhanjibhai Mancherji Readymoney,² and to have assisted in the performance of the ceremony of preparing the Naosari Atash Behram. He was the preceptor of Dasturs Kâusji and Frâmji Sohrâbji Meherji Rânâ of Naosari and of Dastur Kâusji Rustamji of Surat.

Dastur Rustam Behrâm was the founder of the learned Sanjânâ family of Dasturs of Surat and Bombay. (a) He seems to be the signatory to a document, dated the 16th July, 1691, addressed to the Behedins by the Sanjânâ Mobads residing in Naosari, wherein it is stated that they would associate only with those Bhagaria Mobads, who were accepted by the Behedins to officiate as priests in their houses, and not with those who were not accepted.³ So, it seems that he was one of the Sanjânâ priests of Naosari. It seems that, in spite of the split between the Sanjânâ and Bhagaria priests, some Sanjânâ priests associated themselves with the Bhagaria priests and, possibly, followed all the rules and regulations of the latter and were, therefore, taken to be Bhagarias. In the genealogical

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, pp. 74 and 870.

2 *Ibid.* p. 57 ; p. 397, n. 4.

3 *Ibid.* p. 848.

tree of the family given above, at the commencement of this paper, I have represented Nawroji (1743-1819) as Dastur Rustam's second son and Dorabji (1746-1821) as the eldest son, but I have found out my mistake, as Nawroji was the eldest son.¹

Behram Dādā Sanjānā, grand-father of Dastur Shāpur Mānock Sanjānā, is one of the signatories to a document from Surat, dated the 6th May, 1735,² passed to Desais Kukāji Meherji, Jivanji Mānockji and Khurshedji Tehmulji, acknowledging the nomination by them of himself and another signatory, Dādāji Jamshedji Barjoji, to officiate as priests in Rustampurā and elsewhere, and undertaking to submit an account of all sacerdotal income, such as fees for marriage, naojote, etc., and further undertaking not to object to other Mobads being sent to the place if the Naosari people chose. This document shows that some Sanjānā priests had associated themselves with the Bhagaria and had come to be classed as Bhagarias.

Dastur Shāpurji and his uncle, Dastur Rustamji Behrāmji Sanjānā, were signatories to a letter, dated the 30th May, 1773, addressed by the Dasturs of Naosari to the Bombay Parsee Punchayet in reply to an inquiry of theirs. An epidemic raged in Bombay, in 1773, causing many deaths. The platform of the Tower of Silence, on which the dead bodies were exposed, was all full. The Bombay Anjuman, therefore, asked the advice of the Naosari priests.³ Eleven persons who signed the reply, recommended the construction of a temporary structure. Among the signatories, we find the names of the uncle Dastur Rustamji

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, pp. 145 and 154. See "The Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 17, p. 7.

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 852.

3 *Vide* my "History of the Parsee Punchayet," Vol. I, pp. 93-95.

Behramji Sanjânâ and his nephew, our author, Dastur Shâpurji Mânockji Sanjânâ.¹

Our author, with his uncle Dastur Rustamji, was also a leading signatory to a Surat document, dated the 7th February, 1781. Therein, it is stated that, whereas owing to the Mahratha depredations, the Parsees had lost all their wealth and property, the people of the Naosari Anjuman, who had gone to reside at Surat, had agreed amongst themselves to curtail the marriage expenses, and to reduce the total amount of presentation to the parents of the bridegroom to Rs. 7/-.²

Our author is said to have come to Bombay and died here³ on the 25th January, 1805. Mânockji Behramji (આ. માલોકજી બેહરામજી), a signatory to a document, dated the 13th July, 1795,—stating his views for the information of the Court that the person adopted must be from the male line of the deceased and not from the female line,—might be Shâpurji's father. As his father was in Bombay, Shâpurji himself might have accompanied or followed him.

Parsee tradition speaks of a Neryosang as the priest who had led the first emigrant Parsees before Râjâ Jâdi Rânâ (Jayadeo),⁴ ruler of Sanjan, and requested his permission to land there. All the Mobads of India trace their descent from a Neryosang and his contemporary relatives. Both these Neryosangs cannot be one and the same person. As to Neryosang son of Dhaval,⁵ mentioned

33. Neryosang
Dhaval. cc. 772-
773.

1 *Vide* "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 55.

2 *Ibid.* p. 59.

3 *Ibid.* p. 101.

4 *Vide* above pp. 44-45. He is the very first personage treated in this section.

5 "Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society," Vol. XVI, pp. 74-87.

in our Qisseh: according to Dr. Führer, Dr. Haug placed him in the fifteenth century.¹

Dr. West² also once placed him in the fifteenth century, but he modified his opinion later on. I had the pleasure of studying the question in 1891 at his suggestion, and I placed Neryosang Dhaval in the twelfth century A.C.³ I had corresponded with Dr. West on the subject at the time, and I found that he agreed with me. He wrote:—"After considering it carefully, I have come to much the same conclusion as yourself as to the time of Neryosang, but by a somewhat different method.....So, we may conclude from this data, that Neryosang flourished in the latter part of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, as you have also concluded from other data."⁴ The tradition as to Neryosang Dhaval having gone to the Indian Rājā, explained the Zoroastrian doctrines in sixteen *shlokas*, and consecrated the first Atash Behram in India, five years after the immigration, seems to have no written authority. Had that been the case, the Qisseh-i Sanjan and our present Qisseh would have mentioned the fact.⁵

1 Haug's paper: "Ueber den Gegenwärtigen Stand der Zend Philologie", (i.e., The Present State of Zend Philology), p. 6.

2 Dr. E. W. West's " Mainyo-i Kherad " (1871), p. X, and his second edition of Haug's " Essays on the Parsis " (1878), p. 55. His "Pahlavi Texts," Part I, S.B.E. (1880), Vol. V, p. 196.

3 *Vide* the report of my paper before the "Zartoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandali," published in the Report of 1902, pp. 196-200. *Vide* my "Iranian Essays, Part III (ઇરાની વિષયો, ભાગ ૩ એ)," pp. 197-203.

4 Dr. E. W. West's letter to me dated the 8th July, 1891, published in my "Iranian Essays, Part III," page 199 n.

5 *Vide* " Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society from a Parsee Point of View," pp. 95-96.

VIII

A FEW PRINCIPAL EVENTS REFERRED TO IN
THE QISSEH.

1. THE EXODUS.

Now, I will speak of a few principal events, referred to in the Qisseh.

1. *The Exodus of the Parsees to India*

The principal event, the event of events, with which the other events of the *Qisseh* are connected, is that of the Exodus, the Emigration of the Parsees from Persia to India. I will speak of it and of other secondary events associated with it at some length.

The ancient Persians, the ancestors of the modern Parsees, had previously come into contact with India more than once. I have spoken at full length elsewhere¹ on the references to India in the Avesta. Leaving aside, as pre-historic, the question of their contact with, and rule in, the different parts of India, in the times of the Peshdâdian and Kayânian dynasties, referred to by Ferishta,² on the authority of older Muhammadan writings, in his "Târikh," when we come to the historical Achæmenian time and to times after that, we find that they had made long stays in India. When one speaks of the Emigration of the Parsees into India, what is meant is the Exodus after the final downfall of the Persian Empire at the hands of the Arabs.

1 "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. IX, No. 10, pp. 427-36. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, p. 201 *et seq.*

2 *Vide* Brigg's "Ferishta," Introduction. For a brief summary of that contact, *vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B.B. Royal Asiatic Society," *op. cit.*, p. 145.

These two animals, 'Vâsi' and 'Khara,' are referred to in the Bundelesh. Of the first we read:

Reference to the Avesta passage in the Bundelesh.

'Vâsi panjâh-sadvarân râe paetâk âig dayen zareh Frâhokant robait'.¹

"It is known of the (fish) *panjâh-sadvarân* that it moves in the sea Frâhokant."

This Frâhokant of the Bundelesh is the Vouru-kasha of the Avesta. It is a Pahlavi rendering of the Avesta Vouru-kasha.²

The Pahlavi Bundelesh speaks of this fish as follows:

"Its length is as much as that of the distance which a man can cover by a fast run from early dawn to sunset. It cannot, owing to its enormous size, travel the distance of its own length. It is also said that it has the guardianship under which aqueous objects live."³

This explanation of the fish, as given in the Bundelesh, shows that it seems to be a reference to a grand natural phenomenon in the Caspian⁴ Sea.

As to the second animal, 'Khara,' mentioned in the Avesta Haptân Yasht, we read in the Bundelesh:

'Khamrâ-i tartâ regâzman râe immallund âig miân-i zareh Frâhokant iqvimûnêt'.⁵

"It is said of the three-legged ass that it stands in the midst of the sea Frâhokant, i.e., the Caspian."

Whilst describing the animal, the Bundelesh says:

"It has three legs, six eyes, nine mouths, two ears, one horn and a white body. Its food is spiritual and it is

1 Chap. XVIII, 7. *Vide* my 'Text and Translation of the Bundelesh' in Gujarati (1901), pp. 76-77.

2 *Vide* my 'Dictionary of the Avestan Proper Names.'

3 *Vide* my 'Bundelesh,' *op. cit.*, p. 77.

4 I think that the later form, Caspian, is a rendering of the Avesta 'Vourukasha' and Pahlavi 'Frâhokant.' The second part of the word, 'kasha,' has changed its position.

5 'Bundelesh,' Chap. XIX, 1; S.B.E., Vol. V, p. 65. *Vide* my 'Bundelesh,' *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

holy. Of its six eyes, two are in the usual place of the eyes, two in the upper part of the head and two in the direction of the shoulders."¹ "By means of the sharpness of its six eyes, the ass harms and kills people. Of its nine mouths, three are in the head, three on the shoulders and three in the inner part of the sides. Each of its mouths is as big as a house. The ass itself is like the mountain Alvand."²

Then there follows a further account which associates this ass with Tishtar, the Yazata presiding over the rain, who is represented as drawing up the water to its tower ('bârz') with the help of the ass. All this description of the ass shows that it is a reference to a natural phenomenon occurring in the Caspian. Ordinarily it prognosticated a change of weather, but in extraordinary cases of rare occurrence the phenomenon seems to have been taken as prognosticating the coming of an unusual event. We know that some unusual phenomena of Nature, *e.g.*, the total eclipse of the Sun, were occasionally taken as prognostications of coming events.

The great Russian scholar, Inostransev, whom I will refer to later on, refers to a prophecy prevalent at the time of a coming event. As that prophecy is also associated with the mention of an ass, he very properly connects that prophecy with the prophecy mentioned above, which seems to have been drawn from the appearance of a very rare and extraordinary natural phenomenon occurring in the Caspian Sea.³ Inostransev refers to a certain prophecy, but he does not refer to the Avestan origin of this prediction because he does not seem to have read the Qisseh-i Sanjan as a whole. He has based his paper only on the passages of the Qisseh given by

1 My 'Bundelesh,' pp. 76-77. 2 *Ibid.* pp. 78-79.

3 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 50.

me and on my views based on the passages. Had he seen the passage of the Qisseh mentioned above, referring to a prophecy in the Avesta, he would have found that his view of the prophecy is supported by the statement in the Qisseh-i Sanjan. His independent reference to a prophecy, however, seems to support what is said in the Qisseh about the Avestan prophecy.

The Mount Alvand, referred to in the passage of the Bundelesh quoted above, is identified by Dr. West with the mountain of Elwand near Hamadân.¹ Mr. Inostransev differs from Dr. West² and says that it may be identified with the word *bend* used by the Arab writer, Ibn-al-Faqih. I think that Dr. West's identification is correct. In the passage of the Bundelesh only a comparison is attempted; what the writer seems to mean is this that the height of the ass ('khar') was as much as that of the Elwand, a high mountain of Persia.

Instead of Alvand, the Pâzand Bundelesh³ reads the name as 'Hunâvand', which seems to have been a later interpretation by the Pâzand transcriber, because there is no mountain of that name in Persia.

But, as it was against a tribe or offshoot of the Huns against whose inroads, later on, Naushirwân had built a barrier ('band', 'vand'), a wall there, the Pâzand writer seems to have interpreted Alvand as Hunâvand, i.e., the *band* or barrier against the Huns. Arab writers have called it 'Bâb-al-abwâb' (بابا لاواب), "the Gate of gates,"

1 I had the pleasure of visiting this mountain on the 3rd November, 1925. For an account of the visit, *vide* my Gujarati "Book of Travels outside Bombay", pp. 369-373.

2 His article, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

3 *Vide* the "Pâzand Texts," edited by Ervad Edalji K. Antia, p. 33 *et seq.*

i.e., the largest of gates. The Persian writers have named it as 'Darband' and the name has continued upto now.

The Pahlavi 'Minokherad' on the subject of the three-legged ass.

The 'Mino-kherad,' (Chap. LXII, 26-7),¹ also refers to this ass which, it says, was "three-legged."

The "three-legged ass," that is referred to, is a physico-geographical phenomenon of the water-spout. Professor Darmesteter² explains it as a meteorological phenomenon, wherein the clouds and the storm that drift the clouds are personified. The Caspian is very stormy. I had the pleasure of seeing it at Baku and at Darband.³ At Darband stands the great historical wall of Naushirwân,⁴ Even now, we read at times that steamers going to the opposite shore of Resht, the port on the way to Teheran, have to wait for hours to secure a safe landing.

The Arab writers have named the 'Vouru-kasha' or the Caspian as the 'Sea of Khazar' or 'Jurjân' or of 'Tabaris-tân.' As to the first name, the Gurjars, who latterly gave their name to the Indian province of Gujarat and to some places in the North of India, are said to have come down from a tribe of the Khazars,⁵ who, in their turn, seem to be a branch

1 *Vide* West's translation in S.B.E., Volume XXIV, p. 111.

2 'Ormazd et Ahriman,' p. 148.

3 For an account of my visit to the Caspian, Baku and Darband *vide* my "Book of Travels outside Bombay" (પ્રવાસ બહારની સહેલા, pp. 266 *et seq.*)

4 For an account of this wall, *vide* my paper: "The Great Wall of China. A similar wall of King Nowshirwan (Chosroes I) of Persia," (Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society; Vol. LXXV of 1923, pp. 265-284. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part III, pp. 195-214.)

5 *Vide* my Gujarati paper: "પ્રજ્ઞાપતિને નામ આપનારા પ્રજ્ઞે," read on the 29th June, 1929, before the Gujarat Vernacular Society, at Ahmedabad. *Vide* my Gujarati "Dnyan Prasarak Essays," Part V (in the Press), pp. 39 ff.

of the Huns.¹

Inostransev quotes the Arab writer, Ibn-al-Faḡīh, who says: "When the Sasanian Shāh Anūshirwān occupied the Caspian Gate (Derbend) and conducted the wall and the mole (السد), Persian سد = dam, embankment), which protected the same, into the sea, he praised God, Who had predicted his erecting the wall and conquering the enemy and, after having prayed for a happy return home, he lay down to rest. Then out of the sea rose a water-spout, covering the whole horizon, and with it a *cloud*, which hid the light, and directed itself towards the wall. Those, who were with the Shāh, proposed to avert the adversity by throwing of arrows, but Anūshirwān awoke and calmed them, saying, that, according to God's will, he had to be absent from his country for twelve years in order to erect this wall and to possess himself of one of the inhabitants of the sea. Then the water-spout approached the wall and declared to the Shāh, that he, the inhabitant of this sea, had seen this wall erected seven times and seen it destroyed seven times, but, that all the inhabitants of this sea were aware, that a ruler, such as Anūshirwān, should erect this wall for good. Thereafter, the water-spout disappeared in the sea."²

This account of the natural phenomenon in the sea near Darband, the Caspian Gate, is, as it were, a reminiscence of the phenomenon referred to in the Bundesh which itself seems to have been based on a chapter of the Yasna.

¹ For the Huns, *vide* my paper on "The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia" (Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIV, pp. 537-595. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 293-349).

² Inostransev's article *op. cit.* "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 51.

Qazvini¹ takes this animal to be a sea-dragon, a hydra, and signifying a "sea-hurricane." Qazvini quotes as authority 'Abdullâh ibn 'Abbâs. "....the cousin of Muhammed 'Abdullâh ibn 'Abbâs was a grandfather of Muhammed-ibn-'Alî,—the father of the first 'Abbâssid Caliphs, Saffâh and Mansûr,—who commenced.....the 'Abbâssid propaganda 'A.H. 100.'"² This Muhammed ibn Ali was known to have "the gift of prediction." Now, with Ibn-'Abbâs is also associated the legend of Ezdra and his ass. "The tradition about the water-spout and the prophetic significance of the 'Year of the ass' must have played a considerable role in the books relative to the fates of the 'Abbassids.'"³

Anyhow, whatever the true explanation of the physico-geographical or meteorological phenomenon may be, it seems that the phenomenon was taken to be the prediction of a future event. Naushirwân and some later Arab writers took it to be so. Inostransev takes it to be, as given in the Bundehesti, a prediction of the fall of the Empire, which led, a hundred years later, to the Zoroastrian Exodus to India.

In this connection, what is said about such a prediction in Yazdajard's life-time or before it, is worth noting. Inostransev says: "Pseudo-Bulkhi (text 165, translation 150) narrates that in the treasury of Yazdegerd's Captain Hurmuzân, the Arabs found an Arabic book with predictions about everything which shall happen upto the day of judgment." "⁴ If the information is correct, the book must be an Arabic version of the Pahlavi Jâmâspi.⁵

1 "Zakariya ben Muhammed ben Mahmud el Qazvini's Kosmograp-
phy," herausgegeben von F. Wüstenfeld, I, 129.

2 Inostransev's paper, *op. cit.* p. 53.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 53-54.

4 *Ibid.* p. 48, n. 1.

5 *Vide* my 'Jâmâspi,' Text p. 18, Translation p. 19 *et seq.*

The prophecy may be briefly stated as follows:—There occurred occasionally in the sea 'Vouru-Kasha' (the Caspian) which was subject to great storms, some great natural phenomena, caused by changes of atmospheric pressure. These phenomena took the shape of water-spouts which, when seen from a distance, looked like an ass. As is often the case, people associate, with unusual natural phenomena, the ideas of the occurrence of great events. We see this illustrated in the case of great eclipses. Eclipses, in themselves, are not unusual, but total eclipses of the sun are rare. When eclipses take place, they are supposed to forebode evil.¹ Similarly, storms were not rare in the Caspian, but great storms, with the unusual phenomena of big water-spouts and with the formation of clouds which covered the sun, were rare. These phenomena, with water-spouts in the form of an ass, must be very rare, and, these appearances, in the form of three-legged asses, were rarer still. Just as, in Persia, people associated fateful years at the end or at the commencement of a millennium,² with predictions of bad events, they also associated periods of a hundred years with such predictions. Amongst the Muhammadans, as pointed out by Inostransev, the years at the end or at the beginning of a new century were known as "ass years." It seems that the idea of predictions of evil events, when water-spouts appeared in the form of an ass, had passed on to the entertainment of the ideas about "ass years."

1 *Vide* my paper on eclipses, entitled "A Few Ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse and a Few Superstitions based on those Beliefs," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 346-360. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Pt. I, pp. 51-68.

2 Pahlavi: 'hazârah'. Even now, in India, people attribute unlucky events, not only to the end of a millenium or a century, but even to the end of a decade, to the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth and other years of two digits with a cipher at the end, called 𑬨𑬀𑬩𑬀𑬩𑬀 𑬨𑬀𑬩𑬀𑬩𑬀.

There is another important point which seems to have escaped the attention of Inostransev. It is the number "three." The ass, referred to in the Bundelesh, was "three-legged," 'Khar-i talâtâ-regalman,' and the events of evil end, referred to in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, which happened in the long period of the history of Persia, are also three ('se-bâreh,' c. 80). The importance of this number "three" leads me to suggest, that the word 'sheh' (ش) in 'setamgar sheh' (c. 79) must have been written by mistake for 'se' (سه = "three").

Though Inostransev had no knowledge of the reference in the Qisseh-i Sanjan to the prediction in the Avesta, he thought that the tradition and belief connected with the "ass" and the "ass years," falling at the end of a century, had come down to the Muhammadans. The Umayyads ruled as Khalifs in Persia for a hundred years and the 'Abbâsids then came to power. Their coming to power had produced a great commotion. The year of the Parsee Exodus from Khorâsân was the year of the commotion, caused by the coming of the Abbâsids to the Khalifate and power. This commotion, therefore, may possibly be the cause, which led the Parsees to leave Kohistân in Khorâsân after a stay there of a hundred years.

Inostransev considers the Bundelesh to have been compiled in the ninth or the tenth century A.C. So, the events of the eighth century, *viz.*, (a) the Exodus of the Zoroastrians from Kohistân to the shores of the Persian Gulf, and (b) the coming of the 'Abbâsids to power, were known to the last writers or compilers of the Bundelesh. Thus, the association of the sudden appearance of the ass (water-spout) in the Caspian Sea, with a sort of prediction leading to the belief in "the year of the ass" seems to have suggested to Inostransev that "in the Bundelesh, were somehow reflected

The Ass Prophecy, as it had come down to the Muhammadans.

the events of the history of Islam in the middle of the VIIIth century." Thus, Inostransev takes the appearance of the water-spout in the Bundelesh to be a reference to two events,—the 'Abbâssid ascendancy to power and, as its result, the Exodus of the Zoroastrians from Khorâsân, a hundred years after the death of Yazdajard. It is something like the association of Alexander's invasion of Persia with a whirlwind.¹

The evolution of the tradition of the ass, from age to age, may be as follows:—

Avesta
|
Bundelesh, Minokherad
|
'The story about Naushirwân

|
The story of the "ass year" among the Muhammadans.

Among the Muhammadans, the prophecy was associated with the commotion caused by the fall of the Umayyids and the rise of the 'Abbâssids.

Of course, in the Avesta, there is simply a reference to the rare phenomenon of the water-spout in the Caspian appearing in the form of an ass. It is the Bundelesh that makes it "a three-legged ass." This may possibly be due to the fact that, in the times of the writer, the water-spout may have appeared, on very rare occasions, in the form of "a three-legged ass."

We have seen above that the phenomenon of the ass-water-spout led to the first year of a new century being called an "ass year." Thus, a person, associated with an event of the century, has also come to be called "the ass." Marwân, the last Umayyad Khalif, was called 'al-humâr' (الحمار), i.e., "the ass." "He was thus surnamed from the 'year of the

A Person came to be associated with the "Ass."

¹ "Essais Orientaux," by Darmesteter, p. 246.

'Ass,' from the fact that, during his reign, the Centenary of the Ummayyid dynasty was drawing near and the Arabs applied that term to the beginning of each century." We have noticed above that the flight from Khorâsân to Hormuz (751 A.C.), was associated with the commotion caused by the 'Abbâssids coming to power in 751 A.C. Some of these 'Abbâssids said: "We are afraid that the new era might be ruined by the innovations of the Zoroastrian order."¹

According to the Qisseh-i Sanjan, it was predicted that the Zoroastrian religion would be devastated three times ('se bâreh,' c. 80).² The downfall of the Zoroastrian religion took place thrice at the following³ periods:—

(a) At the time of Alexander's invasion.⁴ The result of the devastation at his hands lasted for three hundred years. It is not clear which period is supposed to have been covered by these three hundred years. If the time referred to be that of the revival of religion by Ardashir Bâbagân, the number, three hundred, is under the mark, because the battle of Arbela, in which the Persians were

1 Ya'qûbî, *O.c.*, II, 392. Cf. G. van Vloten: "Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiitisme, et les croyances messianique sous le Khalifat des Omayyades, *Verh. der koninkl. Akad. van Wetenschte Amsterdam*, Afd. Letterkunde, I, No. 3,57," as quoted by Inostransev. *Vide* "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 46.

2 Paymaster's edition p. 4, l. 2.

3 The Pahlavi 'Jâmâspi,' when seemingly prophesying the great misfortunes that were to overtake Irân, speaks of *three* such occasions, though it differs in the mention of the events. It speaks of "three great wars" ('kârizâr-i rabâ'). *Vide* my "Jâmâspi", p. 19 of the Text; Chap. II, pp. 36-37 of the Translation.

4 For the destruction of the religious literature at the hands of Alexander, *vide* my paper "Alexander the Great and the Destruction of the Ancient Literature of the Parsees at his hands" read before the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta. *Vide* my "Oriental Conference Papers," pp. 58 ff.

defeated by Alexander, was fought in 331 B.C. and Ardashir Bâbagân came to power in about 226 A.C. The period, thus, should be $(331 + 226 =)$ 657 or nearly 700 years. If the time were that of the loss of power by the Greeks and the coming to power of the Parthians, the period, *viz.*, three hundred years, is above the mark. Perhaps, the writer meant the end of the period to be the time of the coming of the Parthian rulers. The Parthians, though not of the same line as the ancient Achæmenian Persians, were Zoroastrians. Ardashir Bâbagân is mentioned, in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, as one who brought about the revival of religion after the conquest of Alexander. There were partial revivals even before his time. For example, Valkhash' (Vologeses of the Parthian dynasty) is mentioned in Parsee books as having brought about a revival before Ardashir. But Ardashir brought about a great revival in which his prelate Ardâ Virâf was his great helpmate.¹

(b) Shâpûr II brought about the second revival after the second downfall of religion. Our Qisseh-i Zartushtiân-i Hindustân does not refer to this second downfall. There was, perhaps, no regular downfall of the Empire or of religion, but there was a further revival under Shapur II, who was helped by his prelate Âdarbâd Mârespand. This revival took place after the heresy of Mâni.

(c) The third downfall occurred about a thousand years ('hazarah') after the birth of the prophet Zoroaster² (c. 96).

1 *Vide* my "History of the Zoroastrian Religion" in Gujarati (ગ્રંથોદ્ધતિ ઇતિહાસ ઝરોસ્ત્રીય), p. 99.

2 'Chûn az Zartusht sâl âmad hazâr' (c. 96 of the Qisseh-i Sanjan, Mr. Paymaster's 'Kisseh-i Sanjan,' p. 4). This statement of the Qisseh is somewhat significant though the number of years, *viz.*, a thousand, is under the mark. It supports what is said by a number of Pahlavi writers that Zoroaster lived about three hundred years before Alexander, *i.e.*, in the seventh century B.C.

It was the time of the downfall of Yazdajard at the hands of the Arabs. The writer of the Qisseh-i Sanjan does not mention the name of the conquering nation as that of the Arabs, but simply speaks of them as 'Jud-dins' (جـ دین, c. 97).¹ The author of our Qisseh, Dastur Shâpurji Sanjânâ, does not refer to any previous downfall in the time of Shâpûr. He refers only to the last downfall brought about by the Arabs. Without naming the Arabs, he says that it came from the 'Jud-din' (c. 104). He then adds that those who had their faith in the Zand and the Pâzand (*i.e.*, in Zoroastrianism), were dispersed ('parâgand,' c. 106). They were in concealment for a hundred years and remained in Kohistân. When they met with the oppression of the Jud-dins there also, they went to the city of Hormuz. There, too, they met with oppression at the hands of the Jud-dins; after a stay of fifteen years there, they left for India for the sake of religion ('ze behr-i din,' c. 118).

Before proceeding further, we may note here that, though the Arabs seem apparently to have permitted the conquered nations to follow their religion, it was not really so.

Many authors have made this assertion, but I will quote the words of a comparatively recent writer who speaks specially of the Parsees. C. Snuch Hurgroupe, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leiden, says:—

"Certainly the nations conquered by the Arabs under the first khalifs were not obliged to choose between living as Moslems or dying as unbelievers.....They were allowed to adhere to their religion, provided they helped with their taxes to fill the Moslem exchequer. This rule was even extended to such religions as that of the Parsis,...

1 Mr. Paymaster's 'Kisseh-i Sanjan,' p. 4.

.....The social condition of these subjects was gradually made so oppressive by the Mahomedan masters, that rapid conversions in masses were a natural consequence."¹

Some other migrations are mentioned by some authors as the result of the oppressive policy of the Arabs. For example, (a) the migration of the Beni-Israels from Persia to Cheul on the Western Coast of India, a few miles to the South of Bombay,² and (b) the migration of some Christians to the Malabar Coast.

The story of the Exodus of the Zoroastrians from Persia, as given in the Qisseh, is simple. It is just what it ought to have been in other cases under similar and even under milder circumstances. The story of the Pilgrim Fathers of America is nearly the same, though not entirely identical with the events in Persia. When "the Anglican policy of Elizabeth, and James and Charles I, proceeded on this principle that to allow diversity was to destroy unity, to permit the growth of elements that would prove fatal to the church, involve the denial of the royal authority and the break up of the State.....religious men who could not conform, went to live in lands and under laws where obedience to conscience was possible."³

The points of similarity in both these cases are briefly the following: (1) In both the cases, the people left their fatherland for the sake of their religion. (2) In both the cases, there was "double emigration," i.e., emigration to more than one place. (3) In both the cases, the people finally settled and flourished as a colony. (4) Both the

1 "American Lectures on the History of Religions, Mohammedanism," 1916, by Professor C. Snuch Hurgroupe, pp. 63-64.

2 S. M. Edwards, "Bombay."

3 Dr. Fairbairn in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," Ninth Edition, Vol. XII, p. 736.

communities met with storms in their wanderings. (5) Both the communities had to enter into agreement with the rulers of their adopted countries. (6) Both the communities maintained their places of settlement, as separate colonies, at least for some time. (7) Both the communities had to struggle for existence at first. (8) Both the communities, after some time, founded other settlements for their people.¹

The statement, as regards the Exodus, in our Qisseh as well as in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, which the former seems to have taken as its authority for the earlier part of its history, is supported by some historical facts, by other contemporary events that had happened in Persia. Inostransev speaks of them as "historico-cultural and geographical considerations."²

This Russian scholar has written a learned paper on this subject³ which, like the papers of Rehatsek mentioned below, supports the occurrence of the event on the ground of other historical events that happened in Persia. He dwells at some length on the historical events referred to by Rehatsek. He has based his paper on the information of the Emigration supplied in my book: "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates (1905)." I note with pleasure his statement that I have "proved the erroneousness of the dates accepted"⁴ by others, for the

1 *Vide* my "Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan," pp. 12-13.

2 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 40.

3 "The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musalman world in the midst of the VIIIth century," translated from the Russian of K. Inostransev by Mr. L. Bogdanov, 1922. "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, pp. 33-70.

4 *Ibid.* p. 34, n. 2.

Exodus of the Parsees from Persia and their arrival in India and, among them, by the writer in the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie" (II, 698). He thinks that using the chronological materials given by the Qisseh-i Sanjan, I have "established the time of the emigration."¹

I have counted the dates of the departure of the Parsees from various places, from the date of the death of Yazdajard, and he considers that the "point of departure" adopted by me in my "calculations is quite correct..... That has also been acknowledged by the Arab writers, who inform us that only with his death the existence of the Persian realm came to its end and that the Persians began the new chronology from that particular moment; thus, for instance, Dinâverî, relating about the death of Yezdegerd, says: 'This happened in the sixth year of the Caliphate of Osman, i.e., in the thirtieth year of the Hijra; it was then that the independent existence of the Persian realm came to its end, and upto the present day the Persians base their chronology on the date of this event.' ('Kitâb-al-ahbâr-at-tiwâl,' ed. W. Guirgass, p. 149.)"³

We know that some Zoroastrian principalities existed in the mountainous districts of the Alburz range in the North. One of such mountainous districts was Tabaristân including Kohistân in Khorâsân. We find an interesting account of these Zoroastrian principalities, based on the Muhammadan histories of Tabaristân, in Professor E. Rehatsek's paper, entitled "The Baw and Gâobârah Sepahbuds along the Southern Caspian Shores."⁴ In this paper, Rehatsek dwells upon "the

The Sepahbuds who ruled in Persia even after the Arab Conquest.

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 35.

2 *Ibid.* p. 36. 3 *Ibid.* p. 36.

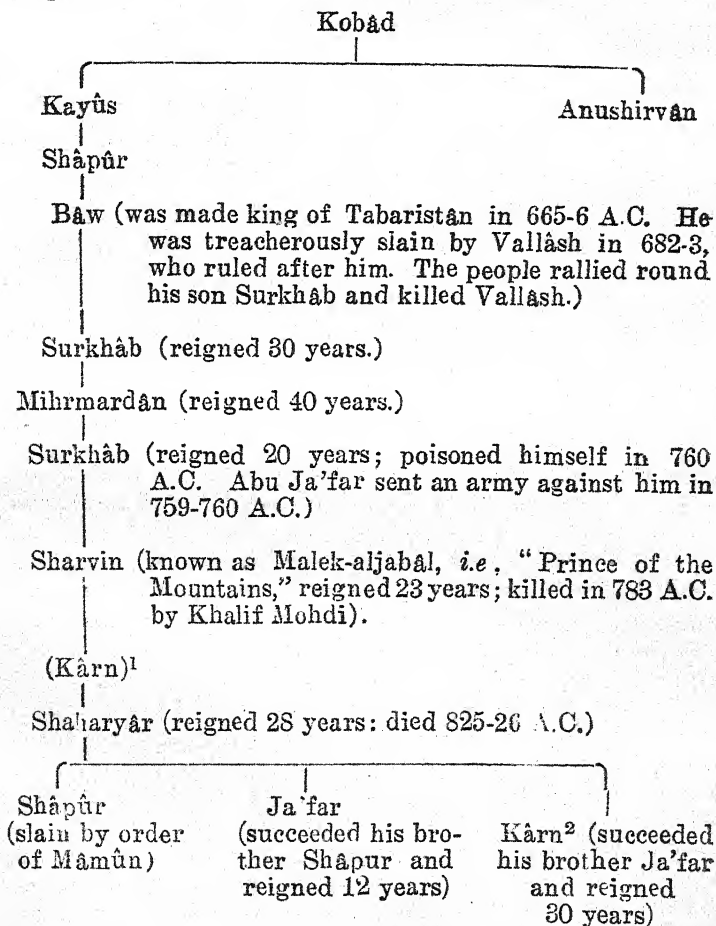
4 "Jour. B. B. R. A. Society," Vol. XII, pp. 410-45. For a brief summary of that paper with my observations, *vide* my paper: "A Glimpse into the work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, etc.," *op. cit.*, pp. 79-82.

subject of the gradual transition of the Persians from Zoroastrianism to Muhammadanism as far as the Sepahbuds of the Bâw and Gâobârah dynasty."¹ He gives a brief history of some of the Zoroastrian principalities. As to why these principalities continued to be Zoroastrian, long after the downfall of the Empire under Yazdajard, Rehatsek says: "The reason why several of these little sovereigns managed to subsist.....and why at least the Bâw and Gâobârah Sepahbuds succeeded in maintaining themselves in the Kôhestân or 'mountain region' must be sought (a) in the rugged and wild character of a land full of jungles, rocks and precipices, as well as of malarious plains; (b) in the independent nature of mountaineers; and (c) in the struggles of Abbâside Khalifs with various rebels, who sometimes so fully engaged their forces that the princes of Tabaristân and Mâzanderân had opportunities of temporarily throwing off the yoke of their conquerors."² The first two of the reasons applied to the early Zoroastrian Sepahbuds but the last applied also to the Zoroastrian Sepahbuds who ruled after the downfall of the Umayyad Khalifs and the coming to power of the Abbâssid Khalifs. Of the different Zoroastrian dynasties that ruled there, Rehatsek gives us an account of the two principal ones, *viz.*, the Bâw and the Gâobarâh, on the authority of (1) the "Târikh of Tabaristân, Ruyân and Mâzanderân" of Sayyad Zahir-al-din, (2) the "Rauzat-us-Safâ" of Mirkhond, and (3) the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badaoni. It is with these two dynasties that we are principally concerned with respect to a principal event in our Qisseh, *viz.*, the Exodus from Kohistân to Hormuz.

1 "Jour. B. B. R. A. Society," Vol. XII, Abstract of the Proceedings, p. XXII.

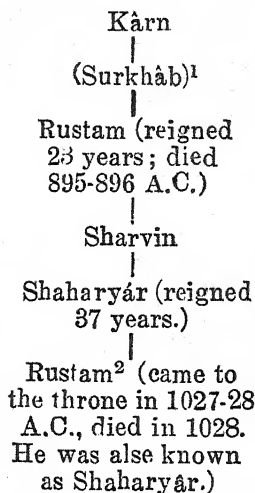
2 *Ibid.* pp. 410-11.

The following table, prepared by me from Rehatsek's account, gives a list of the Bâwand princes of Tabaristân, who ruled in Tabaristân long after the Arab conquest:—



1 He did not reign, having died in the life time of his father.

2 He was the first of these princes who made a profession of Islâm. (Jour. B.B.R.A. Society, Vol. XII, p. 416).



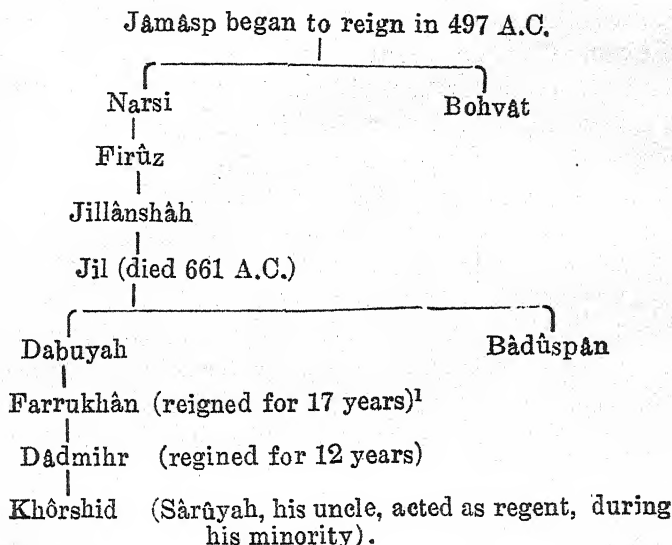
The following table gives a genealogical tree of the Gâobârah Sepahbuds,³ who first ruled in Gilân and then in Tabaristân:—

1 He did not reign.

2 Before he came to the throne, the country was ruled by one Dârâ bin Dârâ for 35 years. He fought against Allâhahdaulah, was taken prisoner and died in captivity. The dynasty died with him.

3 In this connection, it must be noted that in the mountainous district to the north of Persia, there also reigned, in other parts, descendants of old Iranian families. Though many of them had changed their faith, they continued to have old Iranian names. For example, we find that upto the sixth century of the Hijri era, there ruled, in the province of Shirwân, a dynasty of kings known as the Shirwânshâhs, who bore old Iranian names, just like some of the Sepahbuds named above, such as Fariburz, Minochehr, Faridun, Farrukhzâd, Garshâp (Kerestâp), Gushtâp, etc. (*vide* "Falaki-i Shirwâni: His Times, Life and Works," by Dr. Hâdi Hasan (1929).) "The province of Shirwân, that is the two districts of Shirwân proper and Gushtâspi" had for its limits the river Samur or Nahru'l Malik on the north, the Caspian Sea on the east, the river Kur or Cyrus on the south, and the Christian kingdom of Georgia on the west. Derbend.....was a state by itself (*ibid.* p. 1). I had the pleasure of passing through a part of this country in October 1925, on my way from Moscow, via Vladicaucass, to Tabriz and Urumiah in Persian Âzarbâijân.

GĀOBĀRAH SEPAHBUDS



Prof. Rehatsek has written another paper entitled: "The Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems, and the Extinction of the Sāsānian Dynasty,"² which lends us materials to support the correctness of the date of the Zoroastrian Exodus, at first, to Kohistān, and then to Hormuz. The last part of the paper, which is interesting and exhaustive, is important from the point of view of the Exodus which we are treating.³ He says: "The complete subjugation of the vast extent of the Persian monarchy took place only by degrees, and revolts

1 He built the town of Sāri near Nishāpūr and named it after his son Sārūyah ("J. B. B. R. A. S.", XII, p. 443).

2 "Jour. B. B. R. A. Society," Vol. XI, pp. 147-218.

3 *Vide* my paper "A Glimpse into the work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last hundred years, from a Parsee Point of View," pp. 70-72.

now and then still took place, but were suppressed without very great difficulty, as no extensive organizations or ramifications of them among the various districts were possible. These insurrections were frequent enough upto the death of the Khalif Sulaimân B. A'bd-al-Melek, which took place in A.H. 99 (717-18). The last great effort of the Persians to recover their ancient independence occurred also in the eighth century of our era, but the Rauzat-al-Safa, from which I take the account, does not give the date. Sinbâd, the Zoroastrian, an influential inhabitant of Nishâpûr, raised the standard of revolt by first proclaiming his intention to liberate the Persians from the Musalmân yoke in his native city, and inviting the population of the district of Rey, as well as the whole of Taberistân, to make common cause with him. Sinbâd first marched to Kazvin, with the intention of taking possession of it, but was disappointed. In Rey he was more successful; he not only took it, but slew its governor, and obtained an enormous booty of arms and other articles. When he had collected an army of 110,000 men, he declared that the end of Islam was at hand, that a scion of the Sâsânian dynasty would make his appearance under whose command, he would march to Mekkah, and would destroy the Kâbah. When Abu Ja'fer Mançur¹ heard of what was taking place, he

1 The Khalif Abu Ja'far, referred to above, was the Khalif of the new Abbâssid dynasty that came to power after the downfall of the Ummayyids. He is the Khalif referred to in the Pahlavi Shatroihi-i Airân as the founder or reconstructor of Baghdâd. I will refer to him a little later on, when I will speak of Inostransev supporting the correctness of the dates of the Exodus. I think, that some of the fugitives referred to by Rehatsek, as having run away after the defeat of Sinbâd at the hands of Khalif Mansur, were among those fugitives who took their way to Hormuz, when they saw that their Zoroastrian principalities in the mountainous tracts of Kohistân were defeated and destroyed.

marched with his army to Sâwa; Sinbâd, too, hastened to encounter him, carrying also many Musalman women, whom he had placed on camels. The battle, which took place, was decisive: Sinbâd was put to flight and afterwards killed in Tabaristân: his army was partly destroyed, but many of the fugitives perished of thirst in the desert. The total number of those who lost their lives is stated to have amounted to 70,000." ¹

We see from what Rehatsek has said that at the end of the stay of a hundred years at Kohistân, a Zoroastrian Sepahbud, Sinbâd by name, had raised a revolt against the Khalif and his defeat at the hands of Khalif Mansur led the fugitives at Kohistân to leave Kohistan for Hormuz. This Sinbâd is the Sumbâd of Inostransev's narrative.

Abû Muslim, surnamed 'Sâhib-ud-dowleh', i.e., "the helper of the new era" (of the Abbâssids), was a leader of the commotion caused by the change of the dynasties. At the same time that he appeared on the scene in Kohistân "there appeared in Khorassân Bih-Aferîd, whose teaching was closely connected with the faith of Zoroaster, and the dualistic sects. That movement was suppressed by Abû Muslim himself, but his death at the hand of the Abbâssids called forth a most violent movement in Eastern Iran. In Transoxiana, one Ishâq taught that Abû Muslim was a messenger of Zoroaster and that Zoroaster himself was still alive and to come. But especially important is the movement started at the same time in Khorassân by one Sumbâd, who was dreaming about re-establishing the ancient Persian religion and abolishing Islam. He was a fire-worshipper from the vicinity of Nishâpur and having conquered Nishâpur, Qum and Rei, he proclaimed himself 'Ispehbed

1 "Jour. B. B. R. A. Society," XI, pp. 217-18.

Firūz.....' Sumbād is said to have declared in the course of his conversations with Guebres, that the Arab domination was finished according to what he had read in a Sasanian book.....The mutiny of Sumbād took place in A.H. 137 (A.D. 754-55).''¹

Certain Chinese Annals refer to the ancient Persians.

Reference to these
Chiefs (Sapahbuds)
and to certain im-
mediate events
after the Arab con-
quest in Chinese
Annals.

They refer to Zoroaster as 'Sou-li-tehe,' and to Yazdajard as 'Yisséssé.' M. Chavannes has collected these references in an issue of the *Journal Asiatique*.² These Annals indirectly confirm the event of the migration of the

Parsees from Persia, on the downfall of the Persian Empire. M. De guignes gives an account of these Annals in his *History of the Huns*.³ It appears that Yazdajard had, during his early defeats, asked the help of the Chinese Emperor T'ai Tsung, but this help was refused. When on Yazdajard's death, there was a general flight, Pirouz or Firuz (Chinese Pilouse) fled to Toukharistan which was then under Chinese rule. In 662, the Chinese Emperor acknowledged him as the King of Persia.⁴ In 674, Firuz, perhaps not finding his position in Toukharistan strong enough, went to China and was appointed a Captain of his own Bodyguard by the Chinese Emperor. This prince is said to have built a Fire-temple in China at a place called Ch'angngan.⁵ On the

1 Inostransev : "Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, *op. cit.* pp. 62-64.

2 "Journal Asiatique," 1897, Vol. IX, pp. 43-85.

3 "Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols et des autres Tartares occidentaux etc. avant et depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'à present," par M. Deguignes (1756).

4 *Ibid.* Vol. I, Part 1, p. 57.

5 Sir H. Yule's "Cathay and the Way Thither," 1915, Vol. I, p. 96.

death of Firuz in 677, his son Narsey (Ninissé or Nini ei essé in Chinese), with the help of a Chinese army under a Chinese officer, started for Persia to claim his ancestral throne, but returned, as the Chinese Commander did not like to proceed to fight. After his return in 707 A.C., he was given an office in the royal court. Some time after this, between 713 and 755 A.C., some of the Zoroastrian Chiefs or Sepahbuds, mentioned above, had, as independent rulers, sent about ten embassies to the Court of China. One of these chiefs was a prince of Tabaristân, who lived in Sâri. In the company of these embassies and of some royal princes and chiefs, many Parsees seem to have retired to China. It was in Khorâsan that there existed, at that time, the starting station for the route from Persia to China.¹

Anquetil du Perron, when in Surat, was corresponding with one Mr. P. Gaubil of Pekin in 1758. He learnt from him that the Prahmins spoken of by the Chinese as Polamen, were believed to have first gone to China 1600 years before his time. Anquetil believed that in the seventh century some Parsees had returned to China with the son of Yazdajard.² With that belief, he expected to have much information from Chinese-books on the subject of the Parsees.

It was on these grounds that James Campbell also, whilst writing the history of the Parsees in Gujarat, says that "about the time when they came to India, Parsees were settled in China as missionaries, traders and *refugees*."³

1 "Maçoudi," Chap. XVI, Barbier de Meynard's Text and Translation, Vol. I, p. 347.

2 Les "Parsees.....se retirerent à la Chine dans le septième siècle avec le fils d'Iezdedjerd." 'Le Zend Avesta,' Vol. I, Part I, p. 335 n.

3 "The Bombay Gazetteer," Vol. IX, Part II, Gujarat Population, p. 185 n.

The Pahlavi 'Nāmakihā-i Manuschihir' ("Epistles of Manuschihir") seems to refer to this fact of some Parsees having retired even to distant China. Manuschihir (Minochehr), the prelate of the Zoroastrians of Pars and Kerman, speaks of retiring to distant China, in order to avoid domestic anxieties at home, caused by some supposed heretical teachings, as to the purificatory ceremony of 'Bareshnum,'¹ of his brother Zādsparam, who was, at first, the head priest of Sarakhs in Khorāsān and was latterly transferred to Sistān. These Epistles, written in the ninth century A.C., then refer to two facts:

1. that Khorāsān had a large Zoroastrian population in the mountainous tract of Kohistān,
2. and that there was a Parsee population in China, in the ninth century.

We have seen above that the fugitive Parsees had at first gone to Kohistān. It seems that they had gone there, because there were mountain fortresses and hilly regions which could long give them shelter. Mr. Inostransev dwells on the geographical materials in the Qisseh-i Sanjan. As to Kohistān, he says that it is "the southern part of Khorāsān adjacent to the north-eastern districts of Kerman."² The Qisseh-i Sanjan also seems to say that it is the Kohistān of Khorāsān. As Mr. Inostransev says, he has not "followed the author of the Qisseh-i Sanjan in his further exposition." But, had he followed him, he would have seen that his supposition is quite correct and that the Kohistān referred to is the Kohistān of Khorāsān, because we find that, later on, when

1 For this ceremony, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 102-66.

2 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute," No. 1, p. 37.

the emigrants speak of founding a Fire Temple (Ātash Behrām), latterly known as "the Irān Shāh,"¹ it is clearly said that they had "the religious requisites" ('alāt') brought from Khorāsān for the purpose. Khorāsān is mentioned thrice in the Qisseh-i Sanjan.²

Mr. Inostransev then explains, at some length, why the refugees must have first taken shelter in the Kohistān of Khorāsān. He says: "The most prominent feature of that country was and is its inaccessibility and loneliness, but there were in that country many mountain-castles, which offered a good shelter; in the nearest northern part of Kerman was also the crossing of the roads leading to the Persian Gulf, *i.e.*, to Hurmuz and to India" (V. V. Bartold "A historico-geographical sketch of Iran," 1903, pp. 93-94 and 97).³

Inostransev thus speaks of the facilities to go to Hormuz: "Historico-ethnographical data have also to be taken into consideration. In the nearest neighbourhood, in the south-western direction from the Kūhistān of Khorassan in the Kerman district on the way to Hurmuz were situated the hills of Bāriz inhabited by the martial highlanders of the same name who remained *fire-worshippers* through the whole reign of the Umayyads and embraced Islam only in the time of the Abbassids, but were definitely brought to subjection only by the Saffarids. Farther towards the sea lived the highland tribe of Kufs or Kūch who belonged in the Xth century to the Shi'ah sect

1 Shāh Irān is Irān Shāh (c. 221 of Qisseh-i Sanjan). Eastwick has made a very bad mistake. He has not correctly understood Shāh Irān or Irān Shāh as a proper name; taking the word *ā* for *ā*, *i.e.*, "three," he has stated that they placed "three sacred fires," etc. (*vide* l. 309 of his translation).

2 Mr. Paymaster's Edition, co. 216-17.

3 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 37.

and who were, generally speaking, also hostile to Islam.....
the'r belonging to the Shi'ah sect might even have had
 some connection with the fact of their neighbours being fire-
 worshippers. To the west from that tribe was situated the
 country of the nomadic tribe of the Balûs or Balûch who
 also adhered to the Shi'ah creed and the district of Hurmuz.
 Thus, on the whole distance between the Kûhistân of
 Khorâsân *via* Kerman upto the Persian Gulf, we are en-
 counteriing at the period, which interests us, ethnicalements
 either professing fire-worship or related to the same in
 their creed, and politically hostile to the Caliphate.....the
 Kûhistân of Khorâsân constituted a part of the province
 Pahlav, *i.e.* Parthia, one of the most ancient centres of the
 Iranian state-tradition."¹

Again, as Inostransev says: Hormuz was, in the middle
 ages, *i.e.*, the tenth century, "the port of Kerman and a
 bazarplace, an entrepot-city for the goods which arrived
 there."²....."The commerce on the Persian Gulf in the
 middle ages is closely connected with the Parsi-Indian
 relations."² The merchants, even in the tenth century
 occasionally used Persian words instead of Arabic for
 technical trade purposes, *e.g.*, 'Khorâsan' instead of
mashreq for "the east." Râmusht or Râmasht, a well-
 known wealthy merchant of the twelfth century seems to
 have been a Parsee.

Thus, we see that in addition to the "fear of the
 Musulmans," the emigrant Parsees had at Hormuz the
 probability of "some other expectations."³ They may
 have expected the chance of trading with India from
 thence.

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 37..

2 *Ibid* p. 38.

3 *Ibid*. p. 40.

Having explained the circumstances, which led the Parsees to leave Kohistân for Hormuz we will examine here the question which Inostransev has treated: what led the Parsees to leave Hormuz for India. The foundation of Baghdâd seems to have been one of the reasons for leaving Hormuz for India.

According to both the Qissehs, the date when the Parsees finally left Hormuz, *i.e.*, the land of Persia, seems to have been 766 A.C. It was the date when the second and the most prominent Abbassid caliph Mansûr¹ reconstructed the city of Baghdâd, which "was predestined to become the new capital of the caliphate."¹ Mansûr changed the old Iranian name of the city, Baghdâd which, in spite of all his attempts, has still clung to it, into Dâr-ûl Salâm, *i.e.*, "the City of Peace." He also changed the Iranian names of some other towns of Mesopotamia. Baghdâd began to receive, "preponderant significance"² over Hormuz, a great commercial city trading with India. "That event, together with all that had happened earlier had its repercussion on the Parsi community in Hormuz, the latter being a commercial port at the outlet from the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean."²

(a) The Pahlavi 'Shatrôihâ-i Aîrân'³ names Baghdâd, among many others, as a great city of Irân, and attributes its foundation or rather reconstruction to Khaliph Mansûr, who is spoken of as Abû-Dja'far Abû-d-davânik (ابودوانيق), which is a nickname of Mansûr. He was so called because

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 65.

2 *Ibid.* p. 66.

3 *Vide* my "Aiyâdgâr-i Zarîrân, Shatrôihâ-i Aîrân va Afdiy va Sahigîya-i Sîstân," p. 121.

he was very avaricious.¹ The fact of the nickname, having been given by the Pahlavi writers, shows that Khalif Mansûr was opposed to the Zoroastrian Persians.

Inostransev says: "The word 'dānik,' ($\frac{1}{8}$ th of the dirhem) itself is the Persian 'dāneh,' a grain. It is possible that the surname, referred to, took its origin in the Parsi milieu hostile to Mansûr."²

(b) The change of the old Iranian names of towns, as said above, also shows his anti-Iranian ways.

Inostransev further says: "The high degree of development of the commerce in Baghdād, and the general commercial progress of the caliphate connected with the name of Mansûr is a fact of historical notoriety. The oppressions on the side of Musulmans, mentioned in the Qisseh-i-Sanjan, as the reason for emigration, may be explained as having been of the nature of a restraint laid on the conditions of commercial activity. The religious and national motives were supported by a practical motive."³

It seems that the hope entertained by this Hormuz group of fugitives of better days in Iran, at least, in the eastern part of the country, in the direction of Khorâsân was lost, owing to the doings of Mansûr in Khorâsân "...just before the year 766, and, as its ultimate result, possibly even in the self-same year, the armies of Caliph Mansûr annexed to the Musulman realm the dominions of the Ispehbeds,⁴ the last representative of the uninterrupted

1 Abu, "father," and *davāniq* or *dawāniq* دوانيق pl. of *dāniq*, "coin." Vide Steingass.

2 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 67.

3 *Ibid.* p. 66.

4 For the rule of these Sepahbuds, vide Prof. Rehatsek's paper: "The Baw and Gaobarah Sepahbuds along the Southern Caspian Shores," "Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society", Vol. XII, p. 410. Vide my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view," pp. 79-82.

existence of the Sasanian state-tradition and of the Zoroastrian faith."¹

The reason why the fugitives directed their flight to India and not to any other country can

The Exodus:
Why to India?

be gathered from the account given above:

India was well known to them. Persia had come into contact with India and there was a good deal of trade between the two countries. This trade not only gave facilities of travel, but also an expectation of good business. It seems that the fugitives were not the poorest of the poor; they were men of some position and means, even though poor, who could count on doing some trade for the sake of bread in the country of their adoption. We learn from Tabari that the Arabs were aware of the closer contact of India with ancient Persia and were, therefore, afraid of the defeated Persians receiving help from India; and in order to be prepared for defence against a likely invasion by sea from India *via* the Persian Gulf, they had built the city of Basra. We read from Tabari (I give an English version of the French translation of Zotenberg): "Now, after the battle of Kâdesia and the destruction of the Persian army, Omar, fearing that the king of Persia might demand the help of the king of Oman and the king of Hindustan, and that these kings might give that help, thought it proper to get the country at the mouth of the Tigris occupied by a body of troops and to get a village constructed there to be occupied by the Arabs, in order to prevent the Persians from bringing the auxiliary armies by that route."² The town thus founded was Basrâ.

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 67.

2 "Tabari," par Zotenberg, Vol. III, p. 401.

Further Confirmation of the Exodus on Historical grounds.

After justifying the statement of the Qisseh, so far as the geography of Khorāsān and Hormuz is concerned, and after examining, step by step, why the Zoroastrians first migrated to Khorāsān, then to Hormuz, and then to India, let us proceed to prove the correctness of the historical facts mentioned in the Qisseh. Here also the learned paper of Inostransev helps us. He tries to prove that the statement as to the stay of a hundred years at Khorāsān is correct. He says: "The adherence of the highlanders of Northern Kerman to fire-worship noticed by the Arab geographers is of the same duration as given by the Qisseh-i-Sanjān for the stay of the Parsis in Kūhistan; moreover the flitting of the latter to Hurmuz coincides in time with the most tremendous commotion of the whole Musulman world in the middle of the VIIIth century—with the fall of the Umayyad dynasty and the passing of their power into the hands of the Abbāssids. Although the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān was killed in Egypt in 750 A.D., still all the members of the dynasty and its other partisans were not exterminated until the autumn of 751 A.D. The following circumstance is most important: *from the end of the national Persian dynasty of the Sasanians to the ascending to the throne and the definite establishment of the power of the Abbāsid Caliphs one hundred years by the solar calendar had passed.*"¹

"In concluding the above reflections" as to the events which took place upto the embarkation of the Zoroastrians at Hormuz, Mr. Inostransev "deals with the Qisseh-i Sanjan as a historical source" and says that the Qisseh "is almost exclusively based on verbal tradition. Still,.....its narrative finds indirect

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 39.

confirmation in other sources; besides, some value has also to be attributed to the character of that verbal tradition and of the sphere in which that tradition has been conserved. We know that the Indian Parsis are of the type of a definitely pronounced religious and commercial community, consisting of a relatively small number of members, but with clearly defined and carefully preserved ethnical and cultural peculiarities,—a circumstance favourable to inviolable preservation of historical tradition. When the Qisseh-i Sanjan is narrating that after the death of Yezdegerd, those true to the faith of Zoroaster left their dwellings,—we have to understand that those were the Persians devoted to the Parsi religion and to the Sasanian dynasty, who fled to the remotest and most inaccessible localities of Iran in order to preserve their religious and cultural independence during the devastation of their country.....In the neighbourhood of the highlanders, who had remained true to the old religion, the Parsis remained in the Kúhistán upto the moment of the new commotion produced by the fall of the Umayyad dynasty.”¹ That new commotion, caused by the Abbássids coming to power, was the cause of the Parsees leaving Kohistán.

But why did they prefer Hormuz to any other place? Inostransev answers the question: in addition to the “fear of the Mussalmans” there was a probability of “some other expectations.” Inostransev thus concludes: “Before the middle of the VIIIth century the Persians had cultural connections in general, and commercial in particular, with the Indian littoral countries, yet the Qisseh-i Sanjan draws for us a picture of a commercial colony who have for the first time left definitely their mother country and established themselves in a new country, where they light the sacred fire

1 “Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute,” No. 1, pp. 39-40.

and erect a temple for the same — the symbol of their religious and national individuality. Those are the historical-cultural and geographical considerations which induce us to discern, in the traditions relative to the emigration of the Parsis transmitted by the author of the *Qisseh-i Sanjan*, a grain of historical truth."¹

Thus, we gather the following facts: (1) the immediate cause, which led the band of the Parsees who after the downfall of the Empire had removed from the plains to the mountainous country ("Kohistân") of Khorâsân to leave Khorâsân for the city of Hormuz, was "the new commotion" in the country caused by the fall of the Umayyads and the coming to power of the Abbâssids; (2) the reason why they preferred the city of Hormuz to any other place was that it was an emporium of trade from where they could trade with India and earn their bread; (3) the country between the Kohistân of Khorâsân which they left and Hormuz was one where there still lived many Zoroastrians; (4) besides these Zoroastrians, there were other non-Zoroastrians, who had full sympathy with them. These people were such as could not only give them a free passage but also a helpful passage, giving them all facilities for travel.

I have above referred to occasional previous migrations of the ancient Persians to India after the downfall of the last Persian empire before the Exodus. On this subject, Mr. Inostransev says that "a considerable number of Persian emigrants had certainly been in India. In the pre-Muslim epoch Persian Magi had founded in India a temple of the Sun."²

Stray Emigrants
before and after
the Great Exodus.

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 41

2 *Ibid.* pp. 40-41.

Moreover, in the later Sasanian times of king Noushîr-wân and his successors, Yemen in south-eastern Arabia had passed into the hands of the Persians. There must, therefore, have been many Zoroastrians there, where, even for some time after the fall of Yazdajard, they had continued to follow their faith. As Yemen had an extensive trade with India, some Zoroastrians must have come from Yemen to India for trade.¹

Besides, some stray emigrants might have come at the very moment of the downfall of the Empire, *i.e.*, before the band, which came after a stay of a hundred years in Kohis-tân. Mr. Inostransev quotes Balâzuri to show what occurred at the time of the middle of the seventh century: "Many of the inhabitants of Kerman took to flight; some sailed in ships towards the sea, others directed themselves to Mekran, others again to Segestan."² Those who sailed in ships could have gone only to India." Among those who "sailed in ships towards the sea," many may be those who came to the Western shores of India, though not in large numbers like the Sanjan band. "Still the above information cannot be considered as pointing to a wholesale emigration."³ Mr. Inostransev thinks that the Sanjan Colony must have been reinforced by later immigrants. There is a likelihood of this being the case in "the Seljuqid period in the XIth and XIIth centuries" when a suburb of the city of Djiruft in Kerman was an emporium of trade, and, as such, traded with various countries, amongst which Gujarat was one.³

1 For this occupation of Yemen, *vide* my paper entitled "The Physical Character of the Arabs. Their relations with the Ancient Persians," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, No. 7, pp. 724-768 (1919). *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Part III, pp. 8-51.

2 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, *op. cit.* p. 41.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 41-42.

The Qisseh-i Sanjan is the only written document which describes the Exodus of the Zoroastrians. If any one were to doubt its statement, he can and must do so on the strength of other written documents of the same or of earlier dates and of similar or of better authority. We have no other contemporary or anterior writing of equal or better authority. Therefore, in the matter of the dates of the Exodus also, we must be guided by the statement of the Qisseh-i Sanjan. So guided, we get certain dates for events commencing from the date of the downfall of the Persian monarchy.

As to the date of the downfall of the Empire, I take it to be that of the death of king Yazdajard. I have discussed the dates of various events connected with the Exodus, at full length, in my paper: "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," commencing with and counting the years from the year of the death of Yazdajard, viz., 651 A.C. I am glad to observe that Mr. Inostransev, who has written an excellent paper¹ on the subject of the Emigration, agrees with me on the authority of old Arab writers. The subject of his paper is suggested to him by my paper just mentioned above, referring to which he says: "The above narrative gives two kinds of materials, chronological and geographical. J. J. Modi pays attention only to materials of the first kind and, using the same, establishes the time of the emigration..... we have to point out that the point of departure adopted by J. J. Modi in his calculations is quite correct. As the moment, when the

1 "The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musalman World in the middle of the VIII Century," translated from the Russian of K. Inostransev, by Mr. L. Bogdanov ("Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, pp. 32-70).

power of Yezdegerd was ended, can undoubtedly be considered only the moment of his death, seeing that, in spite of a series of defeats inflicted on his armies by the Arabs, the power of the last Sasanian, if only a nominal one, was never considered as overthrown before his decease. That has also been acknowledged by the Arab writers, who inform us, that only with his death the existence of the Persian realm came to its end and that the Persians begin the new chronology from that particular moment; thus, for instance, Dinâveri, relating about the death of Yezdegerd, says: 'This happened in the 6th year of the caliphate of Osman, i.e., in the 30th year of the Hijra; it was then, that the independent existence of the Persian realm came to its end and upto the present do the Persian base their chronology on the date of this event.' (Kitâb-al-Akhbâr-at-tiwâl, ed. W. Guirgass 149). According to Tabari's information, Yezdegerd was buried in Istakhar at the beginning of 31 A.H.; that event has to be put in A.D. 651, and any chronological calculations have to start from that date."¹

Thus, calculating the date of the death of Yazdajard from 651 A.C., I have arrived at the following dates, for events connected with the main event of the Emigration:—

The fall of the Persian Empire on the death
of Yazdajard and the flight to Kohistân ... 651 A.C.

Arrival at Hormuz, after a stay of a hundred
years in Kohistân 751 ..

Arrival at Div, after a stay of fifteen years
at Hormuz 766 ..

Arrival at Sanjan and settling there, after a
stay of nineteen years at Div 785 ..

Founding the Fire-temple at Sanjan, after
a stay of five years 790 ..

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, pp. 35-36.

Thus, the date of the Emigration to India and landing at Div must be 766 A.C. and of the arrival at Sanjan and settling there must be 785 A.C.

(a) The Qisseh-i Sanjan, on the authority of which I have based my calculations, was written in 1600 A.C. (b) Its author has given the account on the authority of an older writing. He says: "I have given this story as I saw it in the old writing." ('Man in qisseh be-goftam ân cheh didam').¹ (c) He further says that the old manuscript on which he depended as authority was shown to him by a Dastur. "He, the Dastur, showed me this 'qisseh'" ('ma-râ in qisseh be-namudash Dastur').² (d) The author has made similar statements as to his authorities.³ (e) Bahman Kaikobâd, author of the Qisseh-i Sanjan whom the author of our Qisseh follows, belonged to a learned family, and was the descendant of Nâgan Râm, one of the three priests of Sanjan who had carried 'Irân-Shâh', the Sacred Fire of Sanjan,—the very first Fire established on landing in India,—from Bansda to Naosari as narrated in our Qisseh. I have given, elsewhere,⁴ the genealogy of his family. As the Qisseh-i Sanjan, followed by our author, is the earliest authority on the history of the Emigration, we must take it to be the best authority for the correctness of statements and for the dates.

Next to the Qisseh-i Sanjan, the book which gives the date of the emigration is Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdin's કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કસર ('Kadîm Târikh Pârsî-ô-nî Kasar').

1 "The Kisseh-i Sanjan," by Mr. R. B. Paymaster, l. 431, p. 16.

2 *Ibid.* l. 412.

3 *Vide* my paper: "Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan," (1917), pp. 6-7.

4 *Ibid.* p. 7.

This book was written, not as a historical work, but as a controversial tract dealing with the question of intercalation. It was published in 1826 A.C., *i.e.*, 226 years after the Qisseh-i Sanjan. It gives the date of the landing at Sanjan as Samvat 772 (" તે દીવશને શને ૭૭૨ શાતશોને બોહોતેર શરાવણ શુદ્ધ ૬ વાર શુક્રે રોજ ૨ બહમન અને માહા ૪ દીર હતો.") According to this date the year of landing would be 716 A.C. But this date cannot be accepted. Dastur Aspandyârji is a much later author and he does not seem to have seen the date of the Qisseh-i Sanjan. One important point to show that his date is not correct is the fact that the Hindu day and month do not tally with the Parsi day and month as given by him.¹

The dates of some other events are given here and there in Gujarati on the margin of the MS. of our Qisseh, as they are given by me in my version, but all of them have to be laid aside as unauthentic. They are not given on the authority of any well-known person and are written as stray notes on stray pages. But the dates of the landing in India, at Div in 766 A.C. and at Sanjan in 785 A.C., arrived at on the authority of the Qisseh-i Sanjan, are correct.

Besides, we see, on the authority of the history of Tabaristân, as narrated by Rehatsek and Inostransev, and on that of other historical materials about the Sepahbuds of Khorâsân, that the dates given above by me are supported by the dates of other contemporary events of history. They, therefore, stand for the present as rock-strong dates.

1 *Vide* "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 1.

IX

TRANSFER OF BULSAR FROM THE
ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION OF NAOSARI
TO THAT OF SANJAN.

The value of Dastur Shâpurji Sanjânâ's Qisseh lies in its second part. The first part has much in common with the Qisseh-i Sanjan. It is possible that Dastur Shâpurji has been guided by the Qisseh-i Sanjan for the first portion of his narration.

There is one event connected with the early history given in the Qisseh which, as described by our author, is new. It is the transfer of Bulsar from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Naosari to which it, at first, belonged according to the first distribution of *panthaks*, to that of the Sanjânâ priests. Our author says that, latterly, when the country of Sanjan was pledged into the hands of the King of Portugal,¹ the Parsees were frightened ('be-tarsidand') and asked the Naosari people to transfer to them Bulsar, which had not passed into the hands of the Portuguese. The Naosari priests consented and handed over the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bulsar to the Sanjânâ priests.²

The cause of the fight was the well-known intolerance of the Portuguese in the matter of religion. It seems that many Parsees with their priest had left Sanjan for Bulsar and other places, to avoid the intolerance and interference of the Portuguese in their religious affairs.

1 We still see at Sanjan the ruins of an old Portuguese fort.

2 That, ere this, Bulsar was held by the Naosari priests, appears from a document dated the 20th April, 1414, whereby twenty-six laymen of Bulsar, appearing before Subha Amil Sidee of Bulsar, agreed to keep Shâpurji Rânâ of Naosari as their priest. ("The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 4.)

The event of the pledge must be that which occurred in 1560. In the reign of Sultan Ahmad II, the Portuguese assisted Changiz Khan to attack Surat which was captured and its governor Khudawand Khan was killed. "As the price of their assistance he surrendered the districts of Daman and Sajan (Sanjan)"¹ to the Portuguese. We learn from other different sources that the Portuguese were intolerant. Khafi Khan, a historian of Aurangzeb's time, says that the Portuguese "in all matters acted very kindly towards the people and did not vex them with oppressive taxes.....But the call to prayers and public devotion were not permitted in their settlements. If a poor traveller has to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble ; but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease.....But their greatest act of tyranny is this. If a subject of these misbelievers dies leaving young children and no grown up son, the children are considered wards of the State. They take them to their places of worship, their churches which they have built in many places and the *padris*, that is to say, priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Musulman *Saiyid* or a Hindu Brahman."²

The Qisseh-i Sanjan does not give us the date of the transfer of the Sacred Fire of Sanjan to Naosari at the instance of Changa Shah. Our author, Dastur Shapurji Sanjānā, seems to follow Bahman Kaikobād's Qisseh in the main facts of the emigration from Persia. Here, he gives, from his own knowledge, the date of the transfer of the Sacred Fire as 785 Yazdajardi (c. 315), *i.e.*, 1416 A.C.

The Date of
taking the Sanjan
Sacred Fire to
Naosari.

1 Watson's "History of Gujarat" (1876), p. 56.

2 Khafi Khan's "Muntakhab-ul Lubab," translated in Elliot's "History of India," Vol. VII, pp. 344-5.

This date is, on the face of it, incorrect. The transfer took place after the sack of Sanjan by Sultan Mahmud (Bigadah) in about 1490. After the sack, the Sacred Fire was taken to Bahrut for twelve years, from thence to Bansda where it rested for fourteen years, and then to Naosari. So the date comes to about $(1490+12+14=)$ 1516 A.C., and the date as given by the author of our Qisseh is evidently wrong by a hundred years. The word 'haft-sad' (هفت صد) seems to have been miswritten for 'hasht-sad' (هشت صد). The letter ف ('f') must have been miswritten for ش ('sh'). Mistakes of this kind do occur at times. It is quite possible that our author had the number of years before him in figures as ٨٨°, and he must have misread the first figure ٨ (= "eight") for ٧ (= "seven"). These two figures, at times, cause a misreading. I have discussed this question at full length in my paper: "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates" (1905), pp. 44-63. I have shown there that the year of the removal of the Sacred Fire to Naosari was 885 A.Y., i.e., 1516 A.C.

There is a difference of opinion among the Zoroastrians of Naosari, especially between the Bhagaria priests on the one hand and the Desais on the other, as regards the founder of the Atash Behram of Naosari.

A Solution of the Question: Who founded the Atash Behram of Naosari?

The Bhagaria priests give the lion's share of credit to Desai Khurshedji in the work of foundation of the Atash Behram. But, according to them, the expenses were not borne by Desai Khurshedji alone; others, besides him, had shared the expenses and, therefore, they say that it must be known as the "Anjuman's Atash Behram." The members of the Desai family, on the other hand, say that the founding of the Atash Behram was only one man's work, that it was Desai Khurshedji alone who paid all the expenses, and that, therefore, the Atash Behram must be known as "Desai Khurshedji's Atash Behram."

Both the sides appeal to this "Qisseh-i Âtash Varhârâm-i Naosari" and refer to stray passages which support their views. Although I have taken no active part in the discussion, I confess that I was inclined, from my former studies, to side with those who accepted the view of the Bhagaria priests against that of the Desai family. I had studied this Qisseh formerly, at the request of Miss Menant, to reply to some of her queries, and embodied the result of my study in a paper entitled the "Kisseh-i 'Atash Behram-i Naosari" published in the issue of the "Zartoshti" of the month Meher, 1278 Yazdajardi (1909 A.C.). However, on looking to the paper now, I find that I have not referred at all to the question of the building of a house or edifice to locate the Sacred Fire. A patient study of the question has led me to modify my view partially, and I can now say that the Bhagaria priests are not wholly right. They are partly right and partly wrong. In the same way, the members of the Desai family also are not wholly right. They, too, are partly right and partly wrong.

I think that this Qisseh, when studied not partly but wholly, throws good light on the question and helps us to solve it. I will explain here how it is so. (a) I will, at first, give a few facts, as presented by the Qisseh, to show that the founding of the Atash Behram was the work of the whole Anjuman, and not that of Desai Khurshedji alone, and that therefore the Bhagaria priests are right. (b) I will then speak on an important fact presented by the Qisseh to show that the Desais, who, too, are Bhagarias, are also right, that it was Desai Khurshedji alone who provided a dome or, perhaps, a building with a dome, to locate the Sacred Fire prepared and consecrated at general expense. On the whole, Desai Khurshedji had a lion's share in the sum total of the expenses as well as in the credit.

(1) Firstly, the Qisseh says that the movement first began with the Anjuman. On a 'Rapithwin Jashan' day, when all the Mobads, Hirbads and Behedins had assembled for the 'Jashan' in the 'Dar-i Meher,' they

(a) A Few Statements of the Qisseh, showing that the founding of the Atash Behram was the whole Anjuman's affair.

proposed to found an Atash Behram.

They speak of themselves in the first person plural as intending to do the work. Let us mark the words:

*'Ke bâyard kard mâ-râ in-chun-in kâr,
Ke dar daur-at kunîm Âtash Varahrâm.'*

(cc. 516-517.)

"We ought so to exert that we can found the Atash Behram in your time."

"Then the good-hearted leader Khurshid spoke his secret hope to all: 'I, too, (*man nîz*) wish the same thing day and night.' " (cc. 521-522.)

"All the Dasturs and Mobads heard this; they blessed the leader; reciting the 'tan-darosti' with heart and soul, *they resolved*: 'let us (*mâyân*) prepare the Atash Behrâm.'" (cc. 524-525.)

(2) The Qisseh farther states:

"Then that man of good name and of good deeds, having invited all the religious men, spoke to all the Dasturs and Mobads: 'Let *us all* write several letters, [the news] of this *our* work may be spread (*ke bê-nvîsîm hamah mâyân nâmah-i chand; parâgandah shawad in kâr-i mayân*) wherever there are the faithful Zoroastrians of good judgment, the circumstances may be known to them that we are preparing the fire in this way.' They wrote letters and sent them everywhere." (cc. 552-556.)

The letters were written to the different centres, such as Surat, Broach, Anklesar, Godavreh and Bombay.

wherever the Parsees dwelt. This is what happens even now. When the Parsee Anjuman of a mofussil town proposes to establish a Fire-temple or erect a Tower of Silence, the Anjuman of the place appeals to all the Parsee centres for help. Here was a similar case. It was the Naosari Anjuman, and not Desai Khurshed alone, who wrote to all the centres. Had it been Desai Khurshedji's own affair, there would have been no necessity of appealing to other centres for help.

Perhaps, it may be said that this was not an appeal for co-operation for contributing to the fund raised to meet the expenses, but they were only letters for information or announcement, letters of announcement of the kind which even now individual donors or founders of religious institutions send to the public newspapers to invite the Zoroastrians at the ceremonies of inauguration. But in this case the letters were not for the announcement of the inauguration ceremony on a certain date, nor were they a general invitation to attend the function of inauguration, but they were letters sent in the very beginning of the project, and were meant to ask for co-operation and help.

(3) An appeal was made to the leading Parsees of Surat, three of whom were the descendants of the well-known Rustam Manock, whose ancestors belonged to Naosari and who was a Bhagaria himself. The fourth person of Surat to whom the appeal was made was not a member of the Seth family, but he was closely associated in business with the family. We find that, no leading persons were individually addressed, in letters to other Parsee centres, but it was so, only in the case of Surat, as the leaders of Surat belonged to Naosari and were Bhagarias by descent. Appeals to them individually were, therefore, expected to be successful, and, they so proved in fact.

In their reply, the members of the Surat Seth family do not speak of the Atash Behram as being founded by Desai Khurshed, but they speak generally in the third person plural as its being founded by the people there ('ke mî-sâzand ba Naosârî Varahrâm,' c. 577). Again, in their reply, they offer to send their share of the necessary expenses ('har ân kharchî ke bâyard mâ farîstand,' c. 579). As stated above, this was simply a preliminary announcement of the proposal to found an Atash Behram to which they sent a reply and offered to subscribe.

The fact of this offer to subscribe is substantiated by what we find in an original account book of Desai Khurshedji, an extract from which, as copied by me in May 1903, is given above.¹ We find, from that account, that all the four gentlemen, related to or associated with the Seth family of Surat, had sent in their subscriptions in Samvat 1822 (1765-66 A.C.), amounting to Rs. 1039-10.

(4) The replies from Parsee centres other than Surat also show that none of them took it that the founding of the Atash Behram at Naosari was an individual affair of Desai Khurshedji. Neither do they nor do the Surat Parsees refer, even once, to Desai Khurshedji by name. The letters were addressed to the different centres in the third person plural as having been written by the people (Anjuman) of Naosari ('navishtand,' c. 585). The replies, too, were addressed to the Anjuman, to the young and the old ('bornâ va pîr') and not to Desai Khurshedji alone. So, they were read before the whole Anjuman in the Dar-i Meher (c. 589). It was when favourable replies of co-operation and sympathy were received that Desai Khurshed requested Dastur Sohrab, the then Dastur of Naosari, to proceed with the work. This shows that the first letters were not letters announcing the inaugura-

¹ See pp. 82-83 above.

tion ceremony; they were letters containing information, asking for sympathy and help. It was after receiving favourable replies from outside Naosari that the Anjuman (the old and the young) of Naosari met one day, and Dastur Sohrab read an account at the meeting, based on the authority of religious books, especially the eighth Pargard of the Vendidad explaining how an Atash Behram should be consecrated. So, if the foundation of the Sacred Fire at Naosari had been only one man Desai Khurshedji's affair, all the preliminaries stated above of letters and replies of co-operation would not have been necessary.

(5) After the completion of the ceremony of collecting and consecrating the sixteen fires, when the whole function was finished, Dastur Sohrab gave the wages or fees to the hundred Mobads who had taken part in the ceremony ('hamah rá mozd dād ô kard khushnud,' c. 691). Desai Khurshed, then, gave them wages for the second time ('dôgânah mozd dâdah,' c. 693). It seems that Dastur Sohrab, as the Head Priest of Naosari, paid to all the priests their wages or fees from the common fund. Thus, the fact that Desai Khurshed paid them for the second time, shows that the foundation of the Atash Behram was not Desai Khurshed's sole affair. Had it been so, there was no need of two payments, one by the Dastur and the other by the Desai. But, as it was the people's affair, an affair of the whole Anjuman, the Dastur paid the priests from the common exchequer, and then Desai Khurshed, of his own accord, kindly paid them in addition, out of his own pocket. Such cases have happened even recently. In the 'Jashans' celebrating the anniversaries of the Atash Behrams and other religious places the priests, after being paid by the authorities of the Atash Behrams, were paid, in addition, by other benevolent persons or from some benevolent funds.

(b) A Statement of the Qisseh that it was Desai Khurshedji who built the Dome (gumbad) of the Atash Behram.

Now, we come to the second part of the question, whereby one can properly say that it was Desai Khurshedji, who built the Atash Behram, *i.e.*, the building which lodged the Sacred Fire.

It seems that, later on, after the sixteen fires were collected and consecrated (cc. 709-11), or perhaps in the midst of the ceremonies, Desai Khurshedji proposed building a dome ('gumbad') to accommodate the Sacred Fire of the Atash Behram. He expressed his intention to do so to Dastur Sohrab, who was pleased to learn that.

I think that what happened was something like that which happens even now-a-days. An institution is started from the general purse, from public subscriptions; but the house, in which that institution is located, is donated by a single individual out of his own money. For example, we had, in Bombay, the Elphinstone College started by public subscriptions. Then, later on, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the first Knight of that name, built a special building for the Institution. So we speak of (a) the College as "the Elphinstone College" and (b) of the building as "the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Building of the Elphinstone College." Take another instance of what has happened in Naosari itself. The Parsee public had subscribed to certain funds to start a Madressa at Naosari. Later on, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the first Knight, gave a large sum to the Madressa which began to be known, and is even now known, as "the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Madressa." Still later, Mr. Behramji Nusserwanji Sirvai of Naosari erected a large building to accommodate the Madressa. Here also, we have two names: (a) "the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Madressa" and (b) "the Behramji Nusserwanji Sirvai Building of the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Madressa." It seems that something of the same

kind had happened in the case of the Naosari Atash Behram. The preparation and consecration of the Sacred Fire was the work of the Anjuman, but the dome—or, perhaps, what is meant is a building with a dome in it, which seems to be more possible—was the affair of Desai Khurshedji alone.

From what we know of the foundation of the present Atash Behrams, the providing of a building for the Sacred Fire is a larger affair, so far as the cost is concerned, than the preparation and consecration of the Sacred Fire. In the total costs of the foundation of an Atash Behram, the cost of the building comes to much more than the cost of the ceremonies. So, I think, Desai Khurshedji's share in the total costs must be taken as forming a lion's share. Under these circumstances, if one were to ask in our Gujarati phraseology "Who *built* the Atash Behram of Naosari?" (નોસારીનાં આતશ બેહરામ કોણે બાંધ્યાં?), one would say: "Desai Khurshedji built it" (દેસાઈ ખુરશેદજીએ બાંધ્યાં). But, if the question were: "Who prepared the Atash Behram of Naosari?" (નોસારીનાં આતશ બેહરામ કોણે બનાવ્યાં?), one may reply: "The Anjuman prepared it" (અનજુમને બનાવ્યાં).

In this connection, we must bear in mind the state of affairs in those old times, about 167 years ago. The Parsees had not then, what we may now call, decent buildings for their sacred Fire-temples. Even now, if you will go to some mofussil villages, such as those around Surat, you will find that the Fire-temples there cannot easily be distinguished from other ordinary houses. We know from the Qisseh that Naosari had an Atash Behram ere this and that was the Sacred Irān-Shāh Fire of Sanjan. They had no special building for that Sacred Fire. The Sacred Fire was located "in a good house specially vacated for the purpose" ('Yaki khush khānah-i khālī be-kardah, Varahrām Ātashī-rā jāy kar-

dah,' c. 306).¹ I think that when the new Sacred Fire of Naosari was prepared and consecrated, it must have been possibly installed in the same house where the Sanjan Fire stood for a number of years. However, wherever it could be, the Sacred Fire was not at first located in a special building with a dome. Desai Khurshedji must have, therefore, built a dome—I take it that a house with a dome is meant—and located the Sacred Fire there. The account as given by the Qisseh is confusive. The Qisseh says that Desai Khurshed provided a dome or built a house with a dome for it, after the preparation and consecration of the Sacred Fire was completed, and the final installation took place on the rôz Sarosh and mâh Ardibehesht, 1136 A.Y. There seems to be some confusion here. A dome, or a house with a dome, cannot be built in a short time after the completion of the consecration ceremony. What must have actually happened seems to be this that Desai Khurshedji must have proceeded to build the dome or the house with a dome, during the preparation and consecration of the sixteen fires. Or, perhaps, the Fire was installed in an old house on the rôz Sarosh and the dome, or the house with a dome, was provided by Desai Khurshedji a little later, and the author of the Qisseh has not carefully preserved the sequence of events. I think that the first must be the case. But this is not a very important point. What we gather from the statement of the Qisseh is this that Desai Khurshedji provided a proper decent habitation for the Sacred Fire. The Desais are, therefore, justified in saying that Khurshedji built the Atash Behram, *i.e.*, the house or temple for the Sacred Fire. An impartial study of the materials supplied by the Qisseh thus shows that both the sides are partially right and partially wrong.

1 *Vide* "The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Journal," No. 17, p. 61, n. 1.

XI

DATES OF EVENTS REFERRED TO
IN THE QISSEH.

A.C.

- 651 Fall of the Persian Empire on the death of Yazdajard and the flight of some Zoroastrians to Kohistân.
- 751 Flight of the fugitive Parsees at Hormuz, after a hundred year's stay in Kohistân. This date corresponds with that of the 'Abbâsides coming to power as Caliphs.
- 766 Arrival at Div in Kathiawar after a stay of fifteen years in Hormuz.
- 785 Arrival at Sanjan after a stay of nineteen years in Div.
- 790 Founding of the first Fire-temple in India after a stay of five years in Sanjan.
- 1090 Beginning of dispersion to Vankâner, Broach, Variav, Anklesar, Khambâyat and Naosari after a stay of about three hundred years more at Sanjan.
- 1290 Division of Gujarat into five *panthaks* or districts for sacerdotal work, two hundred years after the commencement of the Dispute.
- 1490 Conquest of Sanjan by the Muhammadan army of Mahmud Bigarha and the Flight of the Parsees to Bahrut.
- 1502 Arrival at Pansda with the Sacred Fire.
- 1516 Arrival at Naosari with the Sacred Fire.
- 1533 or 1560 (probably the former) Transfer of the town of Bulsar from the *Panthak* of Naosari to that of Sanjan.
- 1686 Quarrel between the priests and the laymen at Naosari.
- 1687 The priests of Naosari obliged to present a writing to the laymen, giving up their rights and privileges to officiate.

- 1735 The Behdins at the instance of Gangaji Rão Gaikwâr passed to the Bhagaria priests a document acknowledging the right of the Bhagarias to officiate at Naosari.
- 1740 A document from Damaji Rão Gaikwâr, containing his decision that the Bhagaria priests had the right to officiate even in the houses of the Sanjânâ priests.
- 1741 A permit given to the Sanjânâ priests by Damaji Rão Gaikwâr, allowing them to leave Naosari for Bulsar.
- 1741 Rôz 28, Mâh 12, Year 1109 Yazdajardi. The Sanjânâ priests left Naosari for Bulsar with the Sacred Irân-shâh Fire.
- 1742 The Sanjânâ priests, with the help of Raja Durje Sang, went and settled at Ud-wâdâ with their Sacred Irân-shâh Fire.
- 1764 Rôz 3, Mâh 1, Year 1134 A.Y. (19th October). The Naosari Anjuman resolved at the Rapithwin Jashan gathering, under the leadership of Desai Khurshed, to found the Atash Behram of Naosari.

A FEW DATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE
FOUNDATION OF THE ATASH BEHRAM,
OF NAOSARI.

- 1764 (19th October), Rôz 3 Ardibehesht, Mâh 1 Fravardin (Rapithwin day), 1134 A.Y. Resolution made by the Anjuman of Naosari, at the Rapithwin Jashan gathering, under the leadership of Desai Khurshed, to found an Atash Behram in Naosari (c. 510). The year is not mentioned, but from the fact that after the receipt of favourable replies, the ceremony of collecting the sixteen fires and of consecrating them is said to have commenced in 1134 A.Y. (c. 663), we take it that the year of the resolution also was 1134 A.Y.

- 1765 (13th January), Rôz Hôrmazd, Mâh Tîr, 1134 A.Y. Commencement (sharu' kardah, 'c. 664) of the ceremony of collecting and consecrating the requisite sixteen fires.
- 1765 (30th November), Rôz Sarosh, Mâh Ardibehesht, 1135 A.Y. Enthronement of the Atash Behram under a dome ('gumbad') built by Desai Khurshed.

We find from these dates that the ceremony began two months and twenty-eight days after the date of the first proposal to found the Atash Behram. The enthronement took place ten months and seventeen days after the commencement of the ceremony.

DATES CONNECTED WITH CHÂNGÂ SHÂH AND HIS SON.

- 1478, 1481, 1511, 1516. Known dates of events connected with Chângâ Shâh.¹
- 1418, 1573. Known dates of events connected with the four sons of Chângâ Âsâ.²
- 1531-1570. Known dates of events connected with the sons and grandsons of the first two sons of Chângâ Âsâ.

DATES CONNECTED WITH THE DESAIS.

- 1527 7th September, Dastur Behrâm Pâhlan³ (Khurshedji Desai's ancestor³) mentioned in the Rivâyat of Câmâ Âsâ.⁴
- 1535 17th January, Dastur Behram Pâhlan, mentioned in the Rivâyat of Aspandyâr Yazdyâr and Rustam.⁵
- 1535 Dastur Behrâm Pâhlan mentioned as a well-known learned Dastur⁶ in the time of Mânock Chângâ whose known dates are 1520-1535.⁷

1 *Vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," *op. cit.*, p. 97.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 97-98.

3 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 7, n. 4.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.* p. 8, col. 1.

6 *Ibid.* p. 11, col. 2, n. 5.

7 *Vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 98.

ZARATHUSTRA AND ZOROASTRIANISM IN MAÇOUDI'S KITÂB-I MURÛJ AL-ZA- HAB VA MA'ADAN AL-JAUHAR (BOOK OF MEADOWS OF GOLD AND MINES OF JEWELS)

BY THE LATE DR. SIE JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT., LL.D.

The object of this paper is to collect and examine the
references to Zarathustra and Zoroastri-
anism made by Maçoudi who lived in the
tenth century A.C. in his "Kitâb-i Murûj
al-Zahab va Ma'adan al-Jauhar" (كتاب مروج الذهب ومعادن الجواهر),
i.e., "The Book of Meadows of Gold and Mines of Jewels."
In my references and version I follow the text and French
translation of the work by C. Barbier de Meynard and
Pavet de Courteille (1861-1877).

Maçoudi¹ speaks of Zarathustra as 'Zarâdest.' He says
that Zarathustra came to Balkh to the court of Yustâsf
(يستاسف, 'Vistâspa' of the Avesta, 'Gustâsp' of Firdousi)
from Âzarbaijân of which he was an inhabitant
(من اهل آذر بيجان). The genealogy of Zarathustra, as given
by Maçoudi, corresponds, with some difference, to that
which we find recited in the Âfringân prayers of the
Parsis. I give below the names as given by him and
found in the Parsi books:—

1 Maçoudi, *Texte et Traduction* par C. Barbier de Meynard et
Pavet de Courteille, Tome deuxième, Chap. XXI, pp. 123-124.

Zarathustra's Genealogy (کرسی)

Maḡoudi (Vol. II, pp. 123-24)	Parsi Books ¹
زرادشت	Zarathusta
پورشسپ	Pôrushasp
قدراسف	Paitarasp
اریکدسف	Aorvadhasp
هچدسف	Hachidasp
چخش	Chakhsnus
باتیر	Paitarasp
ارحدس	Hardarsni
هردار	Hardhâr
اسپیمان	Spitâm
واندست	Vidast
هازم	Aizem
ارج	Razisni
دورشرین	Dorâsrûn
منوشهر	Manochihir

We gather the following particulars from Maḡoudi:

The prophet was called Zarâdust bin Asbîmân (زرادشت بن اسپیمان), which corresponds to the Pahlavi Zarathust Spitamân. He adds: "He was the prophet (پی) of the Magi (مجوس); he brought them the book (کتاب) commonly known as Zamzameh (زمزمه) but known among the Magi as the Bastâh (بسته) which is a corrupt form of 'Avesta.'The language of the book has sixty letters, and no other language contains a larger number than this.....As the

1 I give the names as given in 'Dârâb Hormâzyâr's Rivâyat,' by Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvâlâ, with my Introduction, Vol. II, pp. 43-44, where they are given in the Avestan characters.

language in which the book was written was difficult to pronounce and unintelligible to the people, the prophet, in addition to the explanations which he had given in the book itself, added a commentary (تفسير), and which he explained by another commentary (tafsir al tafsir, تفسير التفسير). All the writings were written in gold and formed twelve thousand volumes which contain all matter, civil and religious. The kings of Persia took these books as their code till the time of Alexander (اسكندر), who after killing Dârâ (دارا) burnt a part of the books. Then, when, after the rule of the tribal kings (ملوك الطوائف), Ardasir Bâbakân came to the throne, he introduced the custom of reading one chapter (سورت) of the book called Isnâd (استاد, i.e., the Yasna). The Magi still recite the chapter. To make the original book of the Bastâh (Avesta) intelligible, the prophet composed a commentary called the Zandâ (زندâ). Later on, he wrote another commentary called Bâzand (بازند, i.e., Pâzand). After the prophet's death, his learned disciples wrote a commentary and new explanation (شرح) of the two preceding commentaries named bâridah (بارده)."¹

Maçoudi then refers to a peculiar process of the recital of the Scriptures. He says: "The Magi have not as yet succeeded in retaining by heart (حفظ) all their revealed books. So, their learned men ('ulamâ) and their 'herbads' (هرابد) are content with knowing by heart some parts, for example, a seventh, a fourth or a third part. One of the priests commences to recite the part which he has by heart; then the second takes his turn

1 It is not clear what this word is. It may be from 'boridan' (بریدن), to cut, and may be equivalent to *kardah* (from Av. ✓ keret, to cut), meaning, a section. We speak of the 'kardahs' or sectoins of the Yasts.

to recite what he knows by heart and then the third: and so on, until they complete the recitation. This shows that it is impossible for them to know by heart the whole of this book. However they say of a Zoroastrian in Sijistân (سیستان) who lived before the Hirji year 300, that he recited the whole by heart."

Zaradust preached for thirty-five years and died at the age of seventy-seven and was succeeded by Khânâs (خاناس). One of the variants of the word Khânâs, as given in his notes¹ by Barbier de Meynard, whose text and translation I have followed, is Khâmâs (خاماش). So, I think the name is Jâmâs (for Jâmâsp), 'Munsi' or Dastur of the court of Gustâsp.

Mağoudi refers to Zaradust and his writings again,² when he speaks of the reign of Bahrâm son of Hormuz. Mânî, son of Yazid (مانی بن یزید), flourished in Bahrâm's reign. The word zandik (زندق) came into use from the life-time of this Mânî who was the founder of the Zendikah (زندک). Mağoudi gives this explanation of the word Zendikah (*i.e.*, Manichæism): Zaradust had brought the book of Bastâh (Avesta) for the Persians, which was written in their ancient language. He wrote a commentary of that Avesta and called it Zand. He added to this commentary (Zand) an explanation (شرح) which he named Bâzand (بازند). The Zand contains the explanation of the original book. Later, all those who rejected the authority of the Bastâh (Avesta) and followed the Zand, *i.e.*, the Commentary, were called the Zandi (زندى). Thus, the Zandî were those who, instead of following the original Avesta, followed the Zand, the commentaries. The Arabs afterwards took the word Zandî from the Persians and designated by this name the dualists and

See Vol. II, p. 448.

2 Vol. II, pp. 167-168.

all those who professed the belief in the eternity of the world and denied the belief in the creation.

Zaradust is named by Mağoudi, later on, along with other five: Set son of Adam, Messiah, Jonas, and two others who were light without body, *i.e.*, whose body cast no shadow.¹

Then Zaradust is again mentioned in Chapter LXVIII² in connection with an account of the fire-temples. Ten fire-temples existed before the time of Zaradust. From his time forward many others were built, such as those in Nisâpûr in Khorâsân, Nisâ and al-Baïdâ in Fârs. On the advice of Zaradust, Gustâsp discovered the Fire-temple founded by Jamsîd in Khârazm and brought the sacred Fire to Dârâbjard in Pârs. The temple was named Âzarjûy (آذرجوی) in 332 Hijri, when Mağoudi wrote his book, meaning "the Fire of the Rivulet."

The Chapter LXVIII is headed ذکراخبار عن بیوت
Mağoudi on the Fire-temples of Persia
التیران وغيرها, *i.e.*, "An Account of the traditional views concerning Houses of Fire, etc."

The custom of paying reverence to the Fire in Persia began, according to Firdousi, in the reign of Hosang who was the founder of Fire-reverence. But, according to Mağoudi, it began later in the reign of Faridun. "This king, having seen a body of men prostrating before the fire, in the attitude of adoration, made inquiries from them about the origin and the hidden meaning of the cult which they professed. They succeeded in drawing him to their belief by showing to him that the fire partici-

1 Vol. III, pp. 339-340.

Vol. IV, pp. 72-75.

pated in the nature of luminous divinities and that he served as intermediary between God and the creation." Maçoudi then adds: "Without wishing to press upon so mysterious a doctrine here, we shall remark that the worshippers of fire establish different grades in light and distinguish the principle of light from the principle of heat. They maintain that every animated being is attracted by flame and consumed by it. It is thus that the light butterfly which flitters at night throws itself over the taper and dies in the flame. It is in virtue of the same (kind of) attraction that the deer, the birds, the wild animals fall at night, in the hand of the hunters. It is the same with fishing before flames such as is practised in the province of Basrah. The fish attracted by the light come up to the surface of the water and hurry towards the bottom of the ships round which burn lighted torches. The adorators say that light is the source of all the good things of the world. It is more noble than things that are dark and combat their influence. Water, the element opposed to the fire, is superior, because it extinguishes it. It is the essence of all that lives and fertilizes all nature."

According to Maçoudi, Afaridun, being once instructed with these doctrines, carried a portion of this sacred fire to Khorâsân. He built a fire-temple at Tus and another in the city of Bokhârâ (مدینه بخارا) which was named Bardasurah (بردسوره).¹

A third temple named Karâkarkân (کراکرکان) was built in Sijistân (سیجستان) by Bahman bin Asfandyâr bin Yustâsf (Gustâsp). The fourth is found in the country of Shîz (شیز) in Irân (ایران). It was, at first, consecrated to

¹ Perhaps a corruption of Burz-i shouleh (برز شوله), "Tower of Flame."

idols which Anusirwân had removed. Others say that Anusirwân (انوشروان), having found in this temple an altar on which the sacred fire burnt, he transported it to the village named Birkah (بركه).¹ King Kay-Khusru had built a temple which was known under the name of Kusujah (کوسجه). Maçoudi, though he speaks of ten Fire-temples, enumerates only eight. He says they were founded before the advent of Zaradust. Then several were founded in the time of Zaradust. I give below the information in the form of a table:

*Maçoudi's List of Fire-temples founded before
Zarathustra.*

Founder	Place	Name of the Temple
1. Afaridun	Tus in Khorâsân	...
2. Afaridun	Bokhârâ	Berdasoureh بردسوره
3. Bahman	Sijistân	Karâkarkân کراکرکان
4. ²	Country of Shîz and Errân بلاد شیز و الران	
5. Kay-Khusru		Kusujah کوسجه
6. Founder not known	Kumis قومش	Jaris جریس ³
7. Siawakhsh	near Birkand (برکند)	Kanjdah کنجداه
8. Bohrâsf (Lohrasp)	Arrajân ارجان in Fârs	

¹ Barbier de Meynard adds a note that it is a pond near Shirâz.

² The name of the founder is not given, but it is said that previously, it was a temple with idols which Anusirwân removed from there. Another version is given which says that Anusirwân found there on an altar (vafieh وفيه) the sacred fire (نار معظمة) burning. He removed the sacred fire to Birkah (بركه), which, according to Barbier de Meynard, is a basin or pond near Shirâz.

³ Or جریس or جریس according to other texts.

*Fire-temples founded in the time of and after
Zarathustra.*

Founder	Place	Name of the Temple
1. Not known	{ Nisâpûr نيسابور	
2. "	{ in Khorâsân	
3. "	{ Nisâ نسا } in Fârs	
	{ Baizâ بيزا }	
4. Jamshid (discovered by Gustâsp at the instance of Zarathustra).	Found at Khârazm and (transported to Dârâbjard)	Âzarjuy ¹ آذرجوی

¹ Maçoudi says that according to a Persian tradition, at first it was Kai-Khusru who discovered the sacred fire at Khârazm during his expedition against the Turks; others say that Nusirwân discovered it later on and carried it to a place called Kariân (کریان). It burnt till the time of the Arab conquest when the Zoroastrians fearing that the Musalmans (مسلمون) may destroy it, divided the Fire into several parts. They kept one part at Kariân and carried others to Nisâ and Baizâ in Fars.

A NOTE ON THE CLIMATE OF IRAN

BY THE LATE DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT., LL.D.

Among the several causes of the downfall of the ancient prosperity of Iran one is its climate. I have spoken on this subject at some length in my first of the four lectures before the Cama Oriental Institute in 1926 as the Government of Bombay Fellowship Lecturer. The climate has turned dry and lessened the fertility of the soil. I give below a note from Dr. Sven Hedin on the subject which shows that at least during the period of the Zoroastrian rule over the country, the climate was well nigh steady.¹

EXTRACT FROM "OVERLAND TO INDIA" BY SVEN
HEDIN, VOL. II, PP. 232-234.

"The old religion of Persia, founded by Zoroaster, may, singular as it may appear, afford *a proof of the constancy of the climate during two and a half thousand years or more*. For, according to the most probable data, Zoroaster lived not long before the rise of the Achaemenid dynasty. According to Justi, this religion, as it is set forth in the Avesta, took the place of the old Magian religion of the Medes. 'The teaching of Zoroaster was first fully accepted and developed in Eastern Iran, and in western lands was mixed with foreign elements. The

¹ I am thankful to Mr. J. K. Kabraji for drawing my attention to Sven Hedin. It is with great pleasure that I give a note of this Swedish gentleman because I had the pleasure of meeting him at Stockholm when he had just returned from his first travels in Persia and talked with me in Persian. I had the pleasure of meeting him once again at Simla when he had just returned from his travels in Central Asia.

genuine Iranian spirit has always had its stronghold in Eastern Iran, while the western parts of the country were exposed to Babylonian and Greek influence.' Night and sleep are hostile powers. By the uprising of the sun the power of demons is restrained; thanks to the sun, irrigation, agriculture, and other work can be carried on, *whereby the extension of desert is checked*. 'When the desert with its storms smoothes out the roads, so that at night only the bright stars show caravans the way; when the heat of the sand raises up vapour which envelops the sun in a dense veil, this is the work of the evil spirits which dwell there; nay, even the storm is a *div* which fights against the trees created by God. The contrast between desert and fruitful land is repeated throughout Iran; numerous rivers, flowing through extensive lands with their beneficent waters, are suddenly lost in the sand; fruitful land is often closely bounded by arid tracts, and irrigation works lose their effect through the encroachment of the sandy sea.'

"Such a clearly pronounced struggle between life and death, between good and evil spirits, for the dominion of the earth could scarcely have been conceived unless the natural conditions in ancient Iran had given grounds for it. H. Kiepert expresses similar views: 'The effect which the nature of the country exercised on the minds of its inhabitants finds expression in the old Iranian belief in a beneficent creative power, and one hostile to mankind (Ormuzd and Ahriman); as creations of the latter are regarded the hot sandstorms, mirage in the desert, the cold of winter, miasma, noxious insects and snakes, etc.; hence the practical religious precepts ascribed to Zoroaster, the extermination of these creatures, the planting of trees, the construction of water-conduits, the sinking of wells, etc.'

"Kiepert also points out that the great desert regions in the midst of Iran are responsible for the absence of a general name for this part of the country, as well as for the weakness of the State institutions which have been established in this country since the most ancient times. 'Only for short periods have powerful rulers or dynasties, such as the first Achaemenids, Alexander, and the first Seleucids been able to keep it all together; during much longer intervals at least *two kingdoms* have, as a rule, existed side by side, *separated by the great desert*, the Medo-Persian, Bactrian, etc.' When Kiepert also shows that the small cultivated strip along the southern foot of Elburz has been from the earliest ages the only practicable route between the west and east for large masses of troops, and that its importance stands out in every period of military history, we find *an indirect but very striking proof of the extension of the desert in former times over the same area as at present*. Politics, wars, religions, all have been affected by the geography of the country, and everywhere we detect the influence of the great desert on the life of the people. As long as records go back, the great desert has lain where it still lies, *and, on the whole, with the same characteristics as to-day.*"

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

ANNUAL REPORT, 1932

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute begs to submit their report of work done during the year 1932.

Membership

At the end of 1931 there were 210 Life Members. Owing to the death of six of them and the addition of one, the number stood at 205 at the end of the year.

Among the 67 Ordinary Members there were three deaths and six resignations against an addition of three new members, bringing down the number to 61 at the close of the year under report.

Deaths

The Committee places on record with regret the passing away of the following members:—

Life Members

- (1) Sardar Sir Bomanji Ardeshar Dalal, Kt.
(5-4-1932),
- (2) Burzoji Dadabhoy B. Jijibhoy, Esq. (10-5-1932),
- (3) Sir Dorab Jamshedji Tata, Kt. (3-6-1932),
- (4) Col. Sir Hormusji Edalji Banatwala, Kt.
(2-7-1932),
- (5) Dhanjishah Meherjibhai Madan, Esqr., M.A.,
LL.B., (Advocate), (13-7-1932).
- (6) Kharshedji Kavasji Suntoké, Esqr., B.A., LL.B.
(21-8-1932).

Ordinary Members

- (1) Ardeshar Edalji Dalal, Esqr. (26-6-1932),
- (2) Dr. Rustam Nanabhoy Ranina (20-10-1932),
- (3) Lt.-Col. Merwanji Pestonji Khareghat
(17-12-1932).

Trustees of the Institute

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.,
C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D. (1914),*
Sorabji E. Warden, Esqr. (1914),*
Kazi Kabiruddin, Esqr., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. (1914),
Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor (1916),
Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B.,
(Advocate) (1916),
R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A. (1916),
Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, 3rd Baronet (1928).

*The Executive Committee**President*

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired).

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Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq.

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Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor,
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(Advocate),

R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A.

Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.

* Now deceased.

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Miss Serene M. Cursetji,
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R. F. Gorvala, Esq., M.A.,
B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.,
P. K. Motiwala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.,
Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.,
Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporvala, B.A., Ph.D., Barrister-
at-Law,
Dr. Jal Feerose Bulsara, M.A., Ph.D.,
Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D.

Honorary Secretary

B. T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.

Sub-Committee of Finance

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,* Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq., and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq., to consider the annual budget and questions relating to finance.

Building Sub-Committee

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,* R. P. Masani, Esq., Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq., and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq., to consider the question of the Institute having its own building.

New Life Member

Ervad Framroze A. Bode, B.A.

New Ordinary Members

Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D.,
Ervad Manekshah Fardunji Kanga, B.A.,
Lt. P. S. Tarapore.

* Now deceased.

Meetings

There were six meetings of the Executive Committee during the year.

Record of Service

The following resolutions were passed recording the services of the Revd. Dr. D. Mackichan and Miss D. Joachim Menant:—

The Revd. Dr. D. Mackichan

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their deep sorrow at the sad demise of the Reverend Dr. Mackichan, retired Principal of Wilson College, who was the first to suggest the foundation of this Institute. Dr. Mackichan took a very deep interest in oriental studies and was ever anxious to further their growth. He was the first President of this Institute until the year 1917 when he left India. As he was greatly attached to India, he returned here on a visit in the year 1925, when this Institute took the opportunity to welcome him at its premises on the 5th March.

“The Committee place on record their appreciation of his great scholarship and the yeoman services he rendered to this Institute and express their regret that in his passing away India has lost an esteemed scholar and a sincere well-wisher, and the student world an earnest devotee of learning and an esteemed friend. May his soul rest in eternal bliss, by God’s blessings.”

Miss D. Joachim Menant

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their deep sorrow at the sad demise of Miss D. Joachim Menant, the scholar-daughter of a scholar-father. Miss Menant had inherited the liking for the Parsi literature and history from her revered father Mon. Menant, who had written learned works on Zoroastrianism,

"The Committee record their appreciation of the deep interest Miss Menant took in matters of Parsi history and the enthusiasm she evinced for the first-hand knowledge of Parsi manners and customs which led her to pay a visit in 1901 to the Parsi centres of Naosari, Surat, Udwada, Sanjan, Nargol and other places. Her work entitled 'Les Parsis, Histoire des Communautés Zoroastriennes de l'Inde,' is well known. By her death the Parsis have lost a zealous scholar and a well-meaning good friend."

K. R. Cama's Death Anniversary

The twenty-third anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Saturday, the 20th August 1932, in the hall of the Institute, when Sir Dinsha Edalji Watcha, Kt., presided.

Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., gave a discourse on "The Date of Zoroaster."

Lectures

1. Dr. Miss Betty Heimann, Professor of Indology at the University of Halle (Germany): "Modern Tendencies in Western Methods of Research in Oriental Studies," on Friday, the 19th February, 1932, when Madame B. P. Wadia presided.

2. Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D., "Pre-Zoroastrian Religion of the Iranians," on Wednesday, the 20th April, 1932, when Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, Kt., C.I.E., LL.D., presided.

3. Dr. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.: "The Interrelation between Vedic and Avestic Cultures," on Tuesday, the 23rd August, 1932, when Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, Kt., presided.

4-6. Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala, Ph.D., Ancien Élève de l'École de Louvre, Paris:

"Recent Excavations in Susa," on Thursday, the 25th August, 1932, when Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.), presided.

"Numismatic Notes," on Friday, the 26th August, 1932, when Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, Kt., C.I.E., presided.

"Observations on Burial Customs in Ancient Persia, with special reference to the results of recent excavations," on Monday, the 29th August 1932, when Sir Dinsha E. Watcha, Kt., presided.

7-12. Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, B.A., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law, Principal of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute:

"The Speech of Babies and its Lessons," on Monday, the 21st November, 1932, when Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.), presided.

"The Psychological Aspects of Speech," on Wednesday, the 23rd November, 1932.

"The Intellectual Laws of Language—I," on Monday, the 28th November, 1932.

"The Intellectual Laws of Language—II," on Wednesday, the 30th November, 1932.

"Some Ideas about Grammar," on Monday, the 5th December, 1932.

"The Mixing of Races and its Effects on Language," on Wednesday, the 7th December, 1932.

Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize Essays

The "Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize" of Rs. 225/- was announced in the public newspapers and journals for an English translation of the Ashi, Âstâd, Zamyât, Hâdôkht and Vistâsp Yasts, to be submitted on or before the 31st December, 1931. One essay was received under the nom-de-plume of "Ârmaiti."

The prize of Rs. 500/- for an English translation of the *Ābān*, *Khvarsēt*, *Māh*, *Tir*, *Drwāsp*, *Mihir*, *Rashnu*, *Fravardin*, *Rām* and *Din Yasts*, to be submitted on or before the 31st May, 1932, was reannounced. Two essays were received under the nom-de-plumes respectively of "Jivjān" and "Wie du kannst so wolle."

Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, M.A., and Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law, were appointed examiners. In their reports, dated the 6th August, 1932, the examiners declared the essays, bearing the nom-de-plumes "Ārmaiti" and "Wie du kannst so wolle" worthy of the two prizes of Rs. 225/- and Rs. 500/-. Ervad Manekshah Fardunji Kanga, B.A. the writer of the two essays, was awarded the prizes at the gathering which took place on the 20th August, 1932, the 23rd death anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama.

The Executive Committee records its thanks to Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara and Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala for kindly examining the essays without remuneration.

Bai Aima K. R. Cama Prize

Dr. Jehangir C. Tavadia, B.A., Ph.D., of Hamburg, has been entrusted with the translation of the Pahlavi text "Sitâyinîṭârih-i Sûr Āfrin," on an honorarium of Rs. 100/- The same subject was announced as the Bai Aima K. R. Cama Prize Essay in 1923 and the only essay then received was not considered worth recognition.

Life-Sketch of the Late Mr. K. R. Cama

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, Kt., has submitted his MS. of the "Life-Sketch of the late Mr. K. R. Cama," which will be published as early as convenient.

Publications

Four numbers of the Journal of the Institute, Nos. 20,

21, 22 and 23, and the Institute Publications Nos. 8 and 9 were published during the year.

Publication No. 8 contains "The Persian Rivayat of Hormazyar Frâmarz and others, their Version with Introduction and Notes," a monumental work of Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, M.A. The Institute tenders its best thanks to the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet, the Trustees of Sir Ratan Tata Charity, the Trustees of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute and the Trustees of N. M. Wadia Charity for the munificent help of Rs. 770/-, Rs. 2,250/-, Rs. 1,000/- and Rs. 500/- respectively given by them to render this publication possible, at a cost of Rs. 4,818-12-0.

Publication No. 9 contains "The Annals of Hamzah al-Isfahâni," translated from the Arabic by Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Arabic in the Ismail College at Andheri. The same was also printed as the Institute Journal No. 22.

The Executive Committee of the Institute regrets that owing to want of funds it cannot proceed with the publication of the Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Vandidâd, prepared by Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria, and the late Mr. K. R. Cama's Collected Works which are out of print.

The Executive Committee is confident that its appeal for funds to publish these works will be liberally responded to by the Trustees of Charities and by philanthropic ladies and gentlemen.

*Authors' and Classified Catalogues of the Additional
Books of the Library*

The Executive Committee has resolved to undertake the preparation of an Authors' Catalogue and a Classified Catalogue of manuscripts and books added to the Library of

the Institute after the publication of Mr. Dhabhar's Catalogue in 1923.

Repairs of Manuscripts and Books

The Executive Committee has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 150/- for repairs and binding of 46 manuscripts and books of the Institute, and a further sum of Rs. 100/- for some of the MSS. and books of the Hateria Collection.

Insurance

The manuscripts, books, furniture and deadstock of the Cama Oriental Institute and of the Manekji Limji Hateria Library have been insured for Rs. 50,000.

The manuscripts, books and furniture of the Mulla Firuz Kitabkhana are separately insured for Rs. 20,000 by the Committee of the Kitabkhana.

Use of the Institute Hall

The Executive Committee has given permission to use the Institute Hall for holding meetings to the "Gâthâ Society," the "Râhnumây Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ" and the "Esean Community" for nominal fees. The Institute has reserved to itself the right to cancel such permission whenever it thinks fit.

Donations

The Executive Committee has accepted with thanks donations received during the year, from the following donors:—

Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, in memory of his brother-in-Law, the late Mr. Jamshedji Rustamji Saklat	Rs.
...	51/-
A friend, in sacred memory of the 5th Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Bart. on the 1st anniversary of his death (Roj 1, Mah 6, 1301 A.Y.)	10/-
A Zoroastrian, by way of thanksgiving to God	10/-

A well-wisher, in memory of his friend Dr. Rustam Nanabhoy Ranina	...	10/-
A friend, in sacred memory of Mr. Framji Rustamji Wadia on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death	...	5/-
A Zoroastrian, in memory of the late Seth Jijibhoy Dadabhoy on the occasion of the 83rd anniversary of his demise (Roj 18, Mah 8, 1301 A.Y.)	...	5/-
A Zoroastrian, in memory of his wife Bai Aimaie on the occasion of the anniversary of her demise (Roj 20, Mah 8, 1301 A.Y.)	...	5/-
A well-wisher, in memory of Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana	...	5/-
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, in pious memory of his father on the occasion of his anniversary	...	5/-
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, in pious memory of his sister Dhunbaiji on her anniversary	...	5/-
A sympathiser, on the auspicious day of the 21st month of the birth of dear daughter Pouruchisti	...	5/-
Total Rs. ...		<hr/> 116/- <hr/>

General Fund

The General Fund of the Institute showed a balance of Rs. 2,01,383-3-2 on the 31st December, 1931. At the end of 1932 the balance was Rs. 2,00,726-6-5.

The Executive Committee tender their sincere thanks to Messrs. Navroz A. Davar & Co., Incorporated Accountants, for having worked as Honorary Auditors of the Institute.

BOOKS PURCHASED

English

"Umar Khayyām," by Masud Ali Varesi, 1922.

"Malcolm's Sketches of Persia," by Sir John Malcolm, 1861.

"Studies: Indian and Islamic," by S. Khuda Bukhsh, 1927.

"Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive," 1903.

"Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1929," 1931.

"An Anglo-Indian Dictionary: A Glossary of Indian Terms used in English," by George Clifford Whitworth, 1885.

"Researches in Manichæism with special reference to the Turfan Fragments," by A. V. Williams Jackson, 1932.

"The Ball and the Polo Stick," by R. S. Greenshields," 1932.

"The Jewish Encyclopædia, Vols. I-XII," by Isaac K. Funk and others, 1905.

"The Dawn Breakers," translated and edited by Shoghi Effendi, 1932.

"A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Mss. belonging to the late E. G. Browne," by Reynold A. Nicholson, 1932.

"The Ethical Religion of Zoroaster," by Miles Menander Dawson, LL.D., 1932.

"The Collected Works of the Late Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D., J.P.," 1932.

"Mandolslo's Travels in Western India (A.D. 1638-9)," by M. S. Commissariat, M.A., 1931.

"Key to Interlingua or Latin without Inflections," by Members of Academia Pro Interlingua.

"Key to and Primer of Interlingua or Latin without Inflections," by Members of Academia Pro Interlingua.

"Primo Libro de Interlingua," by Members of Academia Pro Interlingua.

German

"Mandaische Schriften," by Dr. W. Brandt, 1893.

"Mandaische Religion," by Dr. A. J. H. Wilhelm Brandt, 1889.

"Die Religion Zarathustras," by Herman Lommel, 1930.

Persian

"Gui u Changan or Halnama," by Arifi, 1931.

Gujarati

જામે જમશેદ સેનટીનરી મેમોરીયલ લેટ્યુમ : છપાવી પ્રગટ કરનાર "જામે જમશેદ સેનટીનરી વરકીંગ કમીટી," ૧૯૩૨.

MANUSCRIPT PRESENTED

"An old manuscript of Khordesh Avesta in Persian Characters."¹

BOOKS PRESENTED

English

"Asiatic Papers, Part IV," by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., 1929.²

1. Presented by Prof. Aga Sayyad Muhammad Ali Dâi, Professor of Persian, Nizam College, Hyderabad (Deccan), through Mr. Vicaji Dinshaw (Civil Surgeon, Retired) of Bolarum (Deccan).

2. Presented by Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit.

"Observations on the Religion of the Parthians," by Dr. J. M. Unwala, Ph.D., 1925.²

"Neryosang's Sanskrit Version of the Hom Yasht (Yasna IX-XI)," by Dr. J. M. Unwala, Ph.D., 1924.²

"Scientific Religion, being Lecture Notes for a series of Talks, Vol. 1," by G. N. Gokhale, 1930.²

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3. Presented by the author.

4. Presented by the "Bombay Zoroastrian Jashan Committee," from the late Mr. Rustam N. Munshi's private library.

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"Biographical Treasury," by Samuel Maunder, 1842.⁴

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5. Presented by Mr. Barjor Pestonji.

6. Presented by the University of Calcutta.

7. Presented by the Executive Committee of the Congress

8. Presented by the Guimet Museum.

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Persian

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Gujarati

"ખુદા નામું, ભાગ ૧-૪," કર્તા શે. મ. દેશાઈ, ૧૯૨૯, ૧૯૩૦, ૧૯૩૦, ૧૯૩૧.^{૧૪}

"અશે જરથુસ્ત્ર," લેખક જેહાંગીર સોરાખજી તારાપોરવાલા, (આસો ૧૯૮૬).^{૧૪}

9. Presented by the Government of Madras.

10. Presented by the Government of Bombay.

11. Presented by the University of Mysore.

12. Presented by Sir Hormusji Cowasji Dinshaw.

13. Presented by Mr. Vicaji Ardeshir Taraporevala.

14. Presented by the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay.

“અહેવાલે અરદેશર કોટવાલ બહાદુર,” કર્તા બાઇ ધનબાઇ
અમનજી વાડયા, ૧૯૩૦.^{૧૪}

“શેઠ ખાનદાનની તવારીખ,” લખનાર મરહુમ શાપુરજી કાવસજી
હોડીવાલા, બી. એ., ૧૯૩૧.^{૧૫}

“પ્રસીદ્ધ પયગામજરો અને કોમો,” કર્તા ફસ્તમજી હોરમસજી
સહીએદકાદ, ૧૮૭૩.^{૧૬}

“અષો જરથુશ્ત્ર અને માજદયસ્તી અરથોશ્તી દ્વ્યેન વિષેના
ગુહ્ય ખુલાસાઓ (ક્ષિત્રુમ નેકીએ વહેદીન), ભાગ ૧ ભો, ૧૯૩૨,” કર્તા
ડો. ફરામરોઝ સો. ચીનીવાલા.^{૧૭}

“જરથોશ્તીઓમાં પરણે તે સમયે આશીર્વાદ દેવાય છે તેનો
કવીતામાં કરેલો તરજુમો,” કર્તા મરહુમ શમસ ઉલ ઓલમા સરદાર
દસ્તુર હોશંગજી જામારપજી જામારપઆશાના, ૧૯૧૯.^{૧૮}

“નવસારીનાં મોટા દસ્તુર-દેશાઈ ખાનદાનોની દીસા-પોઠી,”
કર્તા એરવદ દારાં સોરાબજી દસ્તુર મેહરજીરાણા, ૧૯૩૨.^{૧૯}

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English

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 23:
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Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 24:
Rock-Paintings and other Antiquities of Prehistoric and
Later Times (by Rai Saheb Manoranjan Gosh, M.A.).¹⁸

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 31:
The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period.¹⁸

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 37:

15. Presented by Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Sett.

16. Presented by a friend through Mr. Dinshah S. Masani.

17. Presented by Mr. Sorabji Pestonji Kanga of Hyderabad
(Deccan).

18. Presented by the late Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi.

An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan by Sir Aurel Stein.¹⁹

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 43: An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia by Sir Aurel Stein.¹⁹

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19. Presented by the Publishers.

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British Mazdaznan Magazine, Vol. 8, Nos. 2, 3, 5 (October, November, 1931 and January, 1932); Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (May, June, July, August, 1932); Vol. 9, Nos. 1, 2 (September, October 1932).¹⁹

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Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 8: The Inscriptions of Magai.¹⁸

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The New Age: Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2 (October, November, 1931).¹⁹

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Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. I, Part I, 1932.¹⁸

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German

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Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Heft 2,3, 1931; Heft, 1, 1932.¹⁹

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Neue Folge, Band 10, Heft 4, 1931, Band XI, Heft 1-2, 1932.¹⁹

Archiv Orientalii, Vol. III, No. 2, August 1931.¹⁹

French

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Sanskrit, Marathi, etc.

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Telugu

Journal of the Telugu Academy, four numbers.¹⁹

Italian

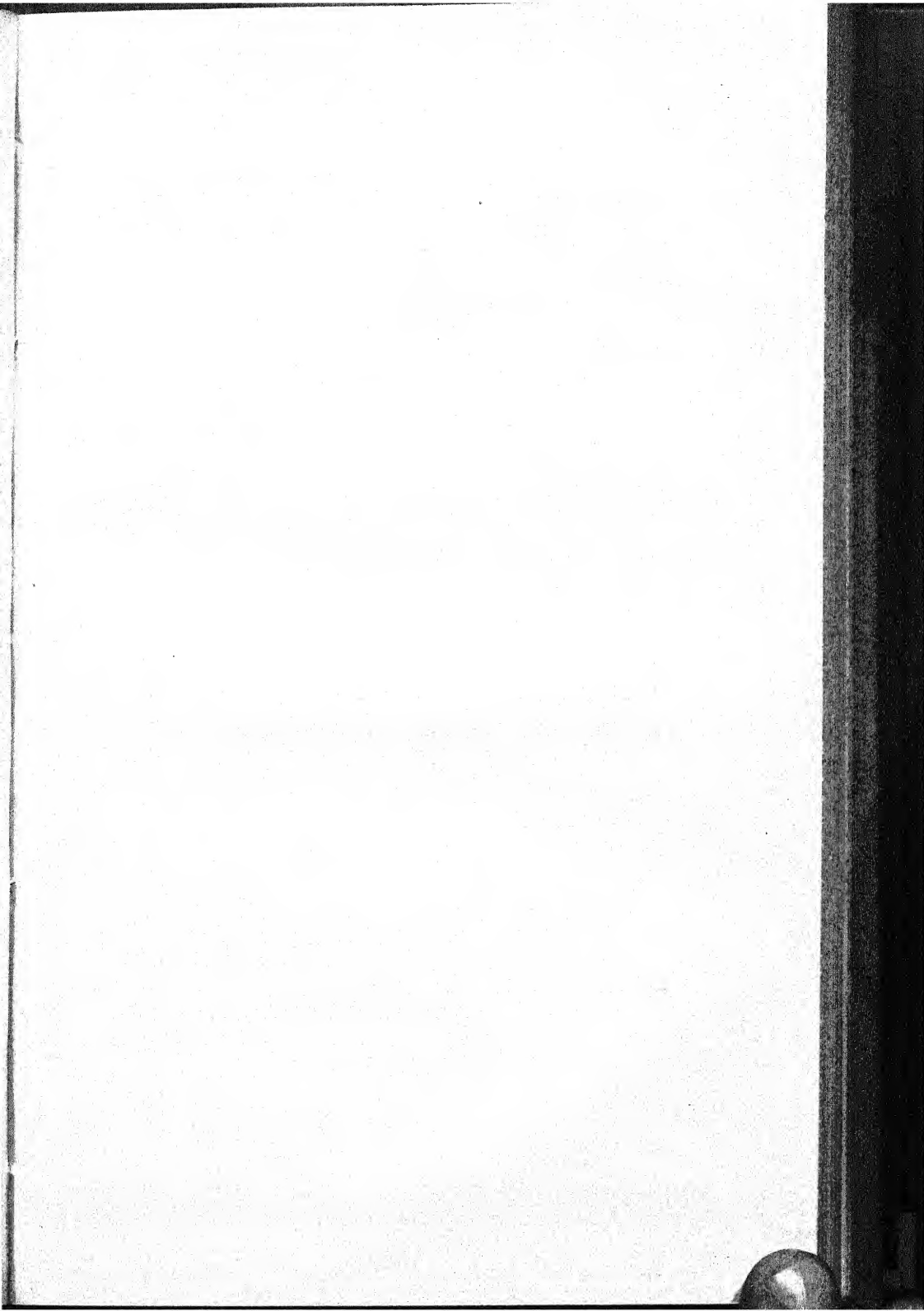
Nuova Antologia: Anno 66; Fasc. 1424.¹⁹

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Orientalia, Vol. I, Fascicolo 3, Nova Series, 1932.¹⁹

Gujarati

રાહે જરથુસ્ત્ર, વોલ્યુમ ૧૩, નંબર ૪ (ડીસેમ્બર ૧૯૩૧); વોલ્યુમ ૧૪, નંબર ૧-૩ (માર્ચ, જુન, સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૩૨).¹⁹



THE K. R. CAMA
Balance Sheet as on

LIABILITIES				Rs.	a.	p.
General Fund	...	...	...	2,00,726	6	5
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	30,000	0	0
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	5,824	6	8
Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	4,238	3	7
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	3,473	7	6
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,759	5	6
T. R. N. Cama Donation Fund	...	...	...	7,021	5	0
Rivayet Publication Fund	...	...	...	184	15	0
Pahlavi Vendidad Translation Fund	...	...	...	1,155	4	4
Maneckji Limji Hateria Library Fund	...	...	...	4,246	14	0
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi	...	...	...	981	14	0
Fund	...	...	...
Total				2,74,141	10	0

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,
Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

31st December 1932

ASSETS			Rs.	a.	p.
Cash with Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 6,418-15-0):—					
Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...	481	3	7
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...	294	4	8
All other Accounts	...	...	5,643	6	9
Securities - (With Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt, Rs. 2,67,722-11-0):—					
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 78,700	...	...	62,829	11	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes 1945-55 of Rs. 500	...	...	500	0	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of Rs. 51,500			51,535	4	0
6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Rs. 32,200	...		32,200	0	0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of Rs. 500			500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Rs. 1,17,800	...	...	1,18,088	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	2,069	0	0
Total			2,74,141	10	0

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
 Incorporated Accountants (London).
 Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 28th March 1933.

THE K. R. CAMA

Account

Account of the General Fund for the

CREDIT				Rs.	a.	p.
BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1932 (Rs. 2,01,383-3-2):—						
Cash with Bank ...	...	...	...	5,879	1	2
Securities ...	...	...	...	1,93,326	4	0
Furniture and Fixtures ...	...	...	...	2,177	14	0
ADMINISTRATION CHARGES:—(Rs. 833-0-2), recovered from						
The Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	23	3	0
The Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	13	13	2
The K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund...	...	...	...	6	4	0
The Fellowship Fund ...	...	...	...	129	12	0
The Mulla Feroze Kitabkhana ...	...	...	...	660	0	0
OTHER CREDITS (Rs. 13,632-10-7):—						
Life and Annual Membership Subscription ...	...	...	...	740	0	0
Donations ...	...	...	...	116	0	0
Interest on Investments ...	...	...	...	8,471	8	1
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory's Account ...	...	...	...	856	12	6
Sale of Journals and Publications ...	...	...	...	168	10	0
Fees for the use of the Institute Hall ...	...	...	...	126	8	0
Sundry receipts ...	...	...	...	2	4	0
3½ per cent 1900 01 Government Promissory Notes of the face value of Rs. 4,600 transferred from Rivayet Publication Fund at 68½ per cent				3,151	0	0
Total Rs.				2,15,848	13	11

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. 1

year ended 31st December 1932

DEBIT				Rs. a. p.	
CASH DEBITS (Rs. 11,862-9-6):—					
Salaries and Wages	...	...	...	4,670	0 0
Rent	...	...	...	3,575	0 0
Books and Periodicals	...	...	...	1,026	8 3
Stationery and Printing	...	...	...	198	9 0
Postage and Registration	...	...	...	191	2 3
Insurance	...	...	...	56	4 0
Clothing to Peons	...	...	...	60	0 0
Other General Charges	...	...	...	343	0 9
Publication Charges	...	...	...	1,742	1 3
OTHER DEBITS (Rs. 3,259-14-0):—					
3½ per cent 1900-01 Government Promissory Notes of the face value of Rs. 4,600 taken up from the Rivayet Publication Fund at 68½ per cent				...	3,151 0 0
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures				...	108 14 0
BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1932 (Rs. 2,00,726-6-5):—					
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of the face value of				Rs. 64,900	50,669 12 0
5 per cent 1945-55 Government Promissory Notes of the face value of				" 500	500 0 0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of the face value of				" 26,800	26,818 12 0
6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of the face value of				" 2,200	2,200 0 0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of the face value of				" 1,15,500	1,15,788 12 0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of the face value of				" 500	500 0 0
Cash with Bank				...	2,180 2 5
Furniture and Fixtures				...	2,069 0 0
Total Rs.					2,15,848 13 11

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 28th March 1933.

Account
FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Journals Printing Charges	...	...	1,920	12	0
Paid to Mr. Ivanow	...	...	600	0	0
Administration Charges	...	...	129	12	0
Balance on 31-12-32:—					
6 p. c. 1933-36 Bonds (F. V. Rs. 30,000)			30,000	0	0
			32,650	8	0

Account

DR. E. J. KHORY

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Interest amount transferred to General Fund	...	...	856	12	6
Balance on 31-12-32 :—	...	...	
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds	14,400	0 0			
Cash	...	...	129	8	0
			14,529	8	0
			15,386	4	6

Account

SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Two Prizes awarded	...	...	725	0	0
Stamp on Balance Certificate...	...	...	0	1	0
Administration charges	...	...	23	3	0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—					
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds...	1,000	0 0			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F. V. 200)	...	127 8 0			
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 4,400...	4,402	10 0			
Cash	...	...	294	4	8
			5,824	6	8
			6,572	10	

No. 2 FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
6 p.c. 1933-36 Bonds ...	30,000	0	0	
Cash ...	506	0	5	
		30,506	0	5
Interest ...		1,854	15	7
Transfer of part of charges for printing				
Journal to Publication charges ...		289	8	0
		32,650	8	0

No. 3 FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury				
Bonds ...	14,400	0	0	
Cash ...	129	8	0	
		14,529	8	0
Interest ...		856	12	6
		15,386	4	6

No. 4 FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds ..	1,000	0	0	
3½ per cent G. P. Notes				
(F. V. Rs. 200) ...	127	8	0	
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury				
Bonds of F.V. Rs. 4,400...	4,402	10	0	
Cash ...	711	3	8	
		6,241	5	8
Interest ...		331	5	0
		6,572	10	8

Account
BAI AIMAE K. R. CAMA

Dr.

			Rs. a. p.
Stamp on Balance Certificate ...	...		0 1 0
Administration charges ...	...		13 13 2
Balance on 31-12-32:—			
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds ...	1,300 0 0		
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of the face value of Rs. 1,800 ...	1,804 2 0		
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 900) ...	652 14 0		
Cash ...	481 3 7		
			4,238 3 7
			4,252 1 9

Account
SURAT PARSI HISTORY

Dr.

			Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 3,700) ...	2,379 9 0		
6½ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F. V. Rs. 900) ...	903 6 0		
Cash ...	190 8 6		
			3,473 7 6
			3,473 7 6

Account
K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY

Dr.

			Rs. a. p.
Anniversary Celebration Expenses ...	...		46 7 6
Administration Charges ...	...		6 4 0
Balance on 31-12-32:—			
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F.V. Rs. 1,500) ...	1,500 0 0		
Cash ...	259 5 6		
			1,759 5 6
			1,812 1 0

No. 5
FUND

Cr.

		Rs	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds...	1,300 0 0			
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of the F.V. of Rs. 1,800 ...	... 1,804 2 0			
3½ per cent G.P. Notes (Face Value Rs. 900) ...	652 14 0			
Cash ...	297 9 9			
		4,054	9	9
Interest ...	...	197	8	0
		4,252	1	9

No. 6
FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 3,700) ...	2,379 9 0			
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F.V. Rs. 900) ...	903 6 0			
Cash ...	3 0 6			
		3,285	15	6
Interest ...	...	187	8	0
		3,473	7	6

No. 7
FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds F.V. (Rs. 1,500) ...	1,500 0 0			
Cash ...	222 13 0			
		1,722	13	0
Interest ...	...	89	4	0
		1,812	1	0

Account

T. R. N. CAMA

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 5,000) ...	5,000	0	0
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F.V. Rs. 1,700) ..	1,706	6	0
Cash	314	15	0
	7,021	5	0
	7,021	5	0

Account

RIVAYET PUBLICATION

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 4,600) transferred to Investments in General Fund at 68½ p.c. ...	3,151	0	0
Printing and binding charges of 500 copies of Rivayet ...	4,818	12	0
Loss made on the transfer of Investments to Investments in General Fund ...	477	4	0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—			
Cash	184	15	0
	8,631	15	0

Account

PAHLAVI VENDIDAD PRIZE

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—			
Cash	1,155	4	4
	1,155	4	4

Account

MANECKJI LIMJI HATERIA

Fire Insurance Premium ...	..	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31-12-1932:—		37 8 0
3½ p.c. G.P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 4,000) ...	.. 4,000 0 0	
Cash ...	... 246 14 0	4,246 14 0
		4,284 6 0

Account

DR. SIR J. J. MODI

Dr.

Balance on 31-12-1932:—		Rs. a. p.
Cash ...	... ..	981 14 0
		981 14 0

No. 11

LIBRARY FUND

Cr.

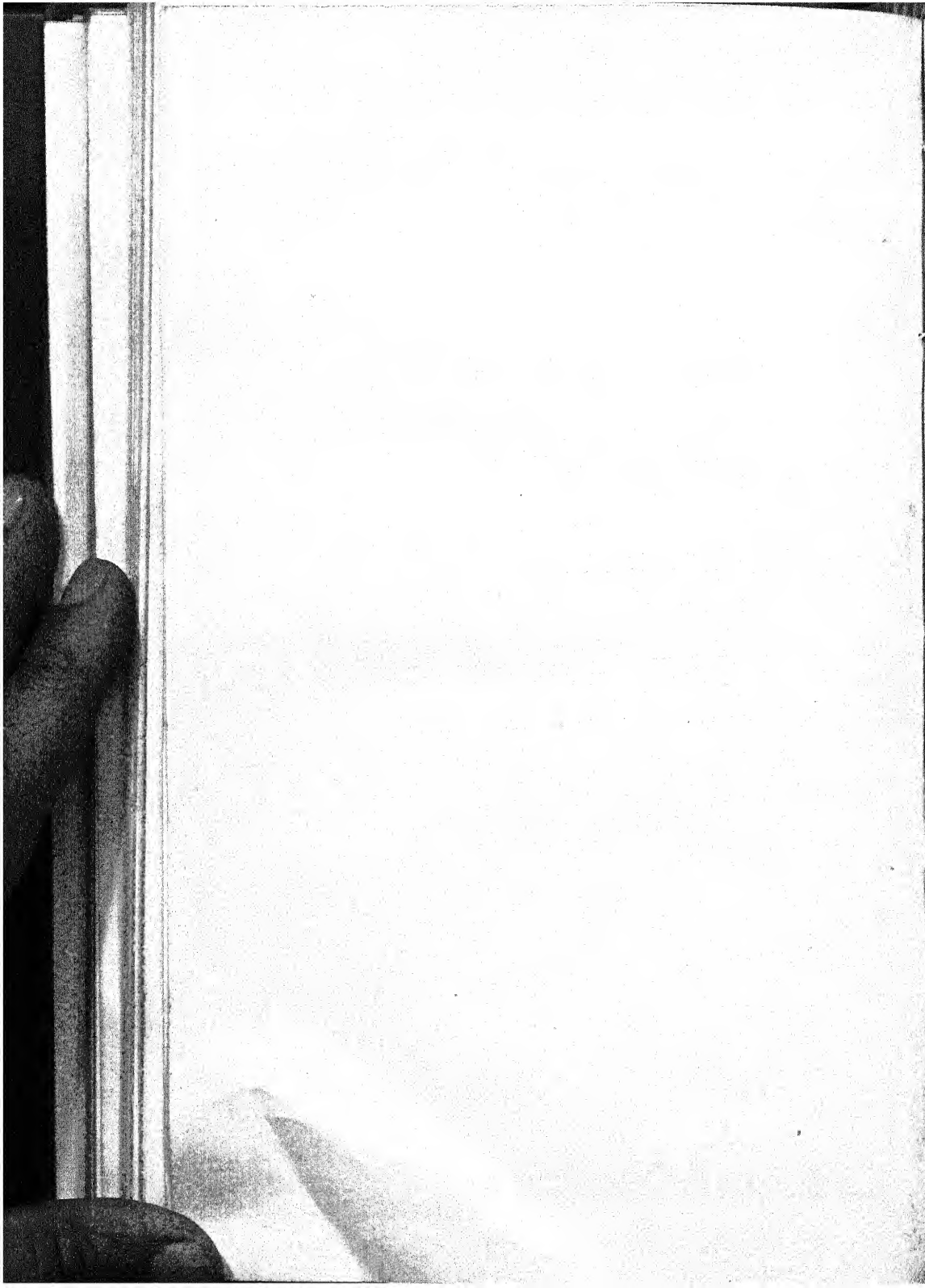
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932 :—				Rs. a. p.		
3½ p. c. G.P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 4,000)				...	...	4,000-0-0
Cash	...	...	144-12-0	4,144	12	0
Interest	...	...		139	10	0
				4,284	6	0

No. 12

APPRECIATION FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.		
Balance of Cash on 1st Jan, 1932	...	981	14	0
		981	14	0



PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR

This is the third in Prof. **Ch. Bartholomāe**'s series of essays on Sasanian Law, the translations of Part I and of the Introductory Part having appeared in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in 1931 and 1932 respectively. Very little need be added to what has been said in the Translator's Prefaces to the two aforementioned essays, the method applied in translating the essay here submitted having been throughout the same as in the two previous translations and the peculiarities of the German original remaining the same as those which were discussed by the present writer in his earlier Prefaces.

As a matter of course, pages of the English translations have been substituted wherever the two preceding essays are quoted by the author in the text of the present treatise.

L. BOGDANOV.



PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR.

I am fulfilling herewith the promise given in the foreword to Part First of my proposed series on Sasanian Law, by submitting to the reader this Second Part. For many reasons the publication thereof was delayed more than I myself could have foreseen. Yet, far be it from me to believe that I should thus have kept anybody waiting for its appearance; for how many are there nowadays, who would care for Pahlavi or for Sasanian law?

Some twelve years ago, when the unthought of manuscript treasures of Turfan, equally important both from the linguistic point of view and with regard to their contents, were discovered, one could have cherished the hope that the study of Middle-Iranian languages would receive through it a tremendous fresh impetus. And at first, that hope seemed to begin to be realized. All Iranists felt themselves stirred up for more intensive work. And then death came and reaped amongst them its terrible harvest. **Justi, Hübschmann, Horn, Salemann, Mann, Gauthiot** : they all had to depart inside of the short period of a few years, and with them many a beautiful plan, many an undertaken work remained undone. And of the few veteran Iranists who still remain, several, unfortunately, have now for several years wholly turned away from that branch of research. **Iranian studies are dying out.**

But the younger ones? The rising generation? The fact is that no research can flourish along with material cares; and material troubles of every kind are nowadays more pressing than ever. The academical

profession during these last forty years, that is since I was admitted into the faculty, has been becoming more and more plutocratic. That an Iranist cannot count on any substantial income from lecture-fees, lies in the nature of things. The same holds good for the Indologist as well. But the latter, even should he devote himself exclusively to things Indian, putting wholly aside Indo-Germanic linguistics and, before all, Iranian studies, has still the prospect of getting at some time in the future a lucrative professorship. For an Iranist, who cannot possibly get along without a certain amount of linguistic knowledge and without some acquaintance with Sanskrit, that hope does not exist. **Iranian studies are bound to die out**, unless the preference (which as I am very well aware, is based on historical reasons) accorded to things Indian to the detriment of Iranian studies, is done away with, unless, along with professorships for Indian philology, similar chairs for the Iranian branch, or at least for the Aryan (*i.e.* for the Indian and the Iranian) languages are created. I still hope to see that day.

NOTES ON SASANIAN LAW.

PART II.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

PROF. CH. BARTHOLOMAE (HEIDELBERG)

translated by

L. BOGDANOV.

IV. MhD. 6. 2-6.

[A special case of indictment of possession.—With expositions regarding the taking of oath.]

પેશંમાર કા કુ ગુફ વાહ્રામ

ܐܬܘܪ ܦܪܢ ܒܝܐ ܐܫܬܐ ܐܢ ܟܘ ܕܘܪܐܬ
 ātur farnbay ʾāstak ʾen ku gōwēt

ᠠᠲᠤᠷᠦᠭᠨᠪᠠᠶᠠ ᠬᠠᠴᠢ ᠪᠦᠳᠤ ᠬᠡᠰᠢ 3
 ā turfarnbay hač būt x'eš 3

1 1106 5 15106 6 15106
u mat man ō mihryōn hač mihryōn

apāt,xšāyihāh u x'ēš man

Vahrām² has said: When the plaintiff says: This thing was the property of *Āturfarnbay*. 3. from *Āturfarnbay* it had come to *Mihryōn*, from *Mihryōn* to myself, and is [now] my property, and *Farroxx*³ has it unlawfully. 4. in his possession: then *Farroxx*³ at

1 Wanting in the Ms.

2 A lawyer very often quoted, see pp. 41, 71. 3 The defendant.

'nikirišn pa farroa¹ dārēt farroa² 4 the investigation³
 has to. 5. prove⁴
 the actual truth
 by showing the
 untruth of all
 these statements;
 whenever, in a
 decision by oath,
 the preference
 with regard to
 the oath is to be
 given to the de-
 fendant, then the
 oath has to be
 taken only with
 regard to the
 non-possession
 by *Āturfarnbay*.

The transmitted text contains three unimportant mistakes : in line 4 there stands once ۱۲ instead of ۱۱. In

the same place also ۱۱ is to be replaced by ۱۲; see p. 52, under 2. Finally, in line 3 the preposition *hač* is omitted before *āturfarnbay*. The necessity of supplying this word is made certain not only by the immediately following *hač mihryōn*, but also by parallels in MhD. 13. 16 ff. and 14. 5 ff.

There, in MhD. 13. 16-14. 2, the same *dāt, stān*, with trifling variations, but, indeed, with one considerable omission, is repeated all over again⁵; only the introduction

1 Ms. ۱۲.

2 Ms. ۱۱; see p. 53 ff.

3 Namely the evidence when the witnesses are being heard; see p. 54.

4 cf. p. 62.

5 Such repetitions occur many time in the MhD.; cf. Bthl. SLB. 2. SL. 1.7 ff. and below in MhD. 6.6-9, 14.7-10; 15.12.14 (see Index of Passages).

of the dictum is different; here it stands 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭮
...𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭮 hač dast,warān bē gyāk
1 nipišt ku..., i.e. from the *Dast,warān* one passage is quoted:...¹ In that recapitulation there is actually found, after āturfarnbay x^{eš} būt, the hač (𐭠𐭣) omitted in the first instance, then the text continues right away with x^{eš} apūt,xšäyihāh (the u between is wanting) so that we may suppose that the copyist had jumped over a whole line of the original. The remainder of the text up to the end of the passage agrees again with the first formula, barring the omission of the not very necessary *pa nikirišn* before *pa nē ētōnih* (which might have resulted from the succession of *pa—pa*), and the substitution of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭮 hakar for ka in line 5, which does not change the sense.

The other passage, MhD. 14. 5-7, also contains the *hač* wanting in the first dictum and has apparently been handed down almost quite correctly², yet, with an essential simplification both of the case, and of the decision.

It runs : ۱۰۱۱۴۵ کس لعل سے اتر فارن بے
 ۱۱۵۸۳ ۳۰۱۱۴۵ لعل ۱۱۶۷ ۱۲۰۶ سے اتر فارن بے
 سے ۱۱۶۷ ۱۲۰۶ سے اتر فارن بے
 :: ۱۱۶۷ ۱۲۰۶ سے اتر فارن بے 7 ka gōwēl ku āturfarnbay
x'ēš būt u hač 6 āturfarnbay ō man mat pusāncvêh guft
ku ka var ētôn varzēt ku āturfarnbay x'ēš nē 7 bût var
bavandak, i.e. When [the plaintiff] says : "[The thing] was

1 cf. for the combination *hač dast_owarān bē* p. 69 foll.

2 See, however, note 3, 4.

3 Ms. မုဒုပ္ပတ္တိ.

4 Ms. 9914.

the property of *Āturfarnbay* and from 6 *Āturfarnbay* has it come to me": *Pusānvēh*¹ has said: "When [the defendant] takes the oath thus: '[The thing] had 7 not been the property of *Āturfarnbay*', then the oath is sufficient".² [The *dāt.stān* is directly connected with the preceding one translated on p. 13, from which the details not specified herein are to be supplied.]

For the contents of the dictum see also the Objective Remarks.

Linguistic and Objective Remarks.

1. *۱* var "ordeal; oath".—On the meaning of var in Sasanian law (p. 6 to 50).

In the Avesta the corresponding word is ²*varah-n.* which I have rendered in the AirWb. 1365 through "Probe, Prüfung, Ordal". That meaning certainly holds good for A. 3. 9, where the case of a devout man is discussed, who submits himself to the "hot" or "heat-ordeal":

*garamō.varah*³; in Middle-Persian books *۱* *۱* *۱*

*garmūk*⁴ var, also *۱* *۱* *۱* *garmūk*⁴ varīh, or *۱* *۱*

۱ var i *garm*, is used in its stead, e.g., PA. 3. 9; DkM. 701. 16; 706. 20 etc.; and the two other Avestan passages for ²*varah* do not, in any case, contradict that definition; those are Yt. 12. 3 and F. 4c.

None of these passages gives any clue as to the origin of the word, and the Middle-Persian passages

1 A lawyer often quoted; cf. p. 12, 69 and WZKM. 27. 362.

2 cf. for the expression p. 41 foll.

3 See for this AirWb. 48.

4 For the reading with -ūk see jAw. *garamāum*, AirWb. 516 and Brugman Gdr.² 2a Güntert: Reimwortb. 85 f.

(which come below) as little. It thus remains obscure. My explanation in the *AirWb.* 1365 is most uncertain. The one given by **Darmesteter**, *ZA.* 1. 227, note 5, is entirely improbable. He takes ²*varah-* "ordeal" to be equal to ¹*varah-* "the chest" (=A.I. *ūras-*, Pers. *ṣ. bar*); *garēmō. varō*—he understands as "la poitrine chaude". That cannot be made even to look probable, not to speak of its being proved to be so, either by the Sanskrit translation *hṛdayadivyaṃ* "l'épreuve du cœur" in *A.* 3. 9. or by the remark *Šnš.* 15. 16 foll. (*SBE.* 5. 376).

The MPB. ¹ *var* is also usually translated "divine judgment, divine justice, ordeal". **West** renders it regularly by "ordeal", see *SBE.* 5, 18, 37, 47, in the Index under "ordeal". I do not at all deny that this translation fits and is correct for a whole series of MPB. passages: thus, for the above quoted passage of the *Dēnkart*, fur-

ther, for *DKM.* 711. 9, which treats of ² *var i sart* and ³ *var i garm*—"the cold and the hot *var*"; compare the fire- and water-ordeal among the Hindus (see **Jolly**, "Recht und Sitte", 145, Nos. 2 and 3), or also the two kinds of "water-ordeal" in the Ancient-German proceedings at law;¹ then, there is the well-known ordeal to which *Āturpat* is supposed to have submitted himself for the purpose of confirming his teachings, by

1 *Judicium aquae ferventis* ("the cauldron-trap") and *judicium aquae frigidae*; see **Hoops**, "Reallexic." 2. 321. A remembrance of a divine judgment corresponding to the "cold water-trial" (only with the opposite valuation of the workings) is concealed in the sixth miracle by *Jamšīd*, related in the *Rivayats* (see *Bthl.*, *ZendHss.* 152. 5 ff.). Of the two opponents in a law-suit, the one who told an untruth perished in the river, while the judge stood by on the bridge.

letting molten metal be poured on his chest; see SBE. 5. 376; 24. 171; 47. 74 f. and below p. 9 line 15 ff.

Yet, I would draw attention to the very important fact, that in the Sasanian Law-book, (the only Middle-Persian written work, of which it may be admitted with certainty, that it designates the legal conceptions by the exact terms which were used in legal language, because it is the only juridical work of that time) there never occurs the expression current in other Middle-Persian books-and universally in use in later dialects, the expression namely for *sōkand xʿartan* "to take oath", which properly means "to drink brimstone (-water)"—Pers.

سوکند خوردن *saugand xurdan*; see MiranM. 2.7¹—although there was many an opportunity for using it, still, wherever it might have been expected, there always

appears 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var varzētan*, i.e. literally, "to perform *var*", see below p. 24 ff. In the Pahlavi Vendidad opportunity for using it is met with only in one passage,

PV. 4. 55, and here also there stands 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var kē varzēt*. Similarly, the author of the Dēnkart in his tables of contents of juridical works always uses the ex-

pression 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var varzētan*, e.g., DKM. 707. 6; 709. 15; 711. 8; 893. 16 (see p. 11 note 3). On the other hand,

in other Middle-Persian books the expression 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sōkand xʿartan* is found, and only that expression; the same expression is also exemplified both in Manichaeic-Pahlavi (MPT.) and in Middle-Soghdian (MS); see the examples in MiranM. 2. 7. The circum-

¹ The examples given there could be multiplied; cf. Afγ. *saugand xwaral*; cf. further ZDMG. 38. 73 (at the bottom of the page) and below p. 39.

stance, that we find in the Dēnkart, which belongs to the IXth century, the combination *var varzitan*, whereas other Middle-Iranian books of the same age, nay, even older, know only the expression *sōkand xʿartan* (*sōgand xʿardan*), is easily explained: the author of the Dēnkart has taken the expression as he found it in the works (*juridical*) reviewed by him, although the said expression was not in current use in his own time.

On the other hand, the Rivāyāts, even in their juridical passages, offer exclusively *saugand xurdan*, and, indeed, quite in the sense of *var varzitan* of the Law-book. Nay, even the isolated *saugand* stands everywhere instead of the *var* of the Law-book. No difference in meaning can be discovered between the two words. "Pouring molten brass on the chest" of the accused

(*vitāxt rōd apar var rēxtan*) is defined in DkM. 644. 18 as one of the methods

(*āhang ēvak*) of performing the *var* (*var pasāxtan*); and when iron made hot and

red² is being placed on his tongue (که آهن گرم و سرخ کرده) *ki āhan *garm u surx kardā bar zabān mī nihāda and*), that is called in the big Munich-Rivāyat (see ZendHss. 145. 12) one of the manners (*gūna*) of the *saugand*. In DkM. 644. 16 f. it is further mentioned that 33 different kinds (*ēvēnak*) of the *var* are distinguished, and similarly it is said in the above Rivā-

1 Ms. *سودن*.

2 i.e. red-hot.

* I would read it with an izafa: *āhan-i garm u surx kardā*, "surg-kardā" being here a compound adjective, not a verb.—Note by the Translator.

yat (145. 13), that there exist 33 kinds (𐬵𐬀 *gūna*)¹ of the *saugand*. Yet, it is added that their number had lately considerably decreased; in connection with this remark stands also the statement in the Dēnkart (DkM. 454. 7; see also Darmesteter, ZA. 1. 227, note 15), according to which such kinds of *var*, as were based on the use of molten metals have been abolished since the end of the Sasanian dynasty.

There, truly, exists a difference in meaning between the older *var* and the *saugand* of the later language; but not a very profound one. The oath was in most cases a purification-oath; it served also a purpose similar to the divine judgment, namely, in so far as it was meant to substantiate the denial of the plaintiff's statements, in order to strengthen its *nē ētōnīh* "untruthfulness" (see p. 59, under 3). In earlier days not only the oath, but, above and besides, (as a more effective measure) divine judgment was resorted to as a means of purification, with the view of confirming the correctness of the oath **already taken**,² the word *var* designating both these

1 I should not advise that any particular stress should be laid on the figure quoted. Numbers divisible by 11 are most favoured, as being mystical, especially 33; cf. e.g. in Ancient-Indian RV. 8.6. 9; 8.28. 1; 30. 2; AV. 6.25. 1—3, 19, 3—5, in Ancient-Iranian, Yt. 13. 17; V. 22. 2. The contemporary Parsis in India reckon 33 *Pazatas*, and different sacrificial offerings have to be 33 in number. Among Indians 9 kinds of divine judgment were distinguished, see Jolly "Recht und Sitte", 145.

2 "The demonstrator, before he entered the divine judgment had to swear on oath to the truth of his statement, thus, the divine judgment was not, generally speaking, a means of proving the truth in itself, but only a confirmation of the oath"; thus in the German law, cf. Schröder, "DRechtsgesch." 378. See also Amira, Grdr. Germ. R³. 278 and K. Lehmann in Hoops Reall. 2. 322, § 3 and 5.

it may have happened, that its definition, as that of "drinking sulphur-water", became the definition for the totality of the legal proceedings, *i.e.* for the magic of the

var (𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *nīrang-i var*¹); that, in the first instance,

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sōkand x'artan* (see p. 8 ll. 24-25) was

used in the sense of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var varzītan* (see p. 8 line 16)² until, finally, the **conceptional approximation** of *sōkand* "brimstone(-water)" and *var* "oath" was reached, and further the **supplanting** of *var* by *sōkand* altogether, so that the word *var* **wholly disappeared** from use.

But *sōkand x'artan* is, it must be understood, the expression used for "taking an oath" not by lawyers, but amongst the laity, the popular expression, so to say.

The Sasanian judge 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *dātowar*³, at least in the older times, was still acquainted with the different kinds of performing the *var* and decided upon its application in the case of one appointed and willing to fulfil the cere-

mony of the *var*, the so-called *varīk* (𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, see DkM. 709.

1 *e.g.*, DkM. 743. 12; 861, 18; 893. 22; 894. 1, 5, 8, 9; 926. 14; 927. 2. West, SBE. 37. 105, 284, 329 f., 371 translates "the rite or the ritual of ordeal".

2 Compare for this the German expressions: "Dafür will ich die Hand ins Feuer legen" and "Darauf werde ich Gift nehmen", which only signify nowadays: "I will take an oath on it, if necessary".

3 In MhD. 3. 7 f. two classes of judges are distinguished: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *dātowar i mas* "the older judge" and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *dātowar i kas* "the younger judge". *mas* and *kas*, most probably refer to age; see, *e.g.*, PN(T). 1. 10 and the AirWb. 1298 (below). But the judges were certainly distinguished not merely by their respective age, but, before all, according to their rank, cf. DkM. 790. 6 f. (SBE. 37, 178) where mention is made of a *frēllar dātowar* and an *apartom vičirkar*.

21). When the judge in some legal instance deemed it proper to apply the *var* of "drinking sulphur-water", he used in his decision the expression واړه و ټول ټول *var i pa sōkand*, "the *var* with brimstone(-water)". We find it twice used in the Law-book: MhD. 13. 9 and 78. 16¹.

The MhD. mentions several other kinds of the *var*; unfortunately, the details specifying their peculiarities are rather obscure.

a) A peculiar *var* is described in MhD. 14. 3 and 13. 3.

a) There stands in MhD. 14. 2-5: $\text{په ټول ټول ټول ټول}$

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1 The Ms. has $\text{په ټول ټول ټول ټول}$ instead of $\text{په ټول ټول ټول ټول}$, see p. 15 note 1.

2 Wanting in the Ms.

3 The current formula (*certa verba*) for an indictment of property; see p. 21 line 7 foll.

4 cf. for the expression below p. 30.

when [then] the defendant takes the *var* thus: "It is not thy property"—: *Pusānvēh i Āzātmartān*¹ has said: "The *var* is sufficient"²; and *Farroḡzorvān*³ has said likewise.

β) The *dāt, stān* with the second example, MhD. 13. 1-13, lacks the beginning (lost with the preceding folio) and is otherwise presented in a distorted state, so that I am not in a position to give a translation of the whole passage; it obviously treats of a complaint which is enforced on account of the pending debts of deceased parents with regard to their sons and heirs; that is shown

by the first words of the folio (13. 1): 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *tōžišn i pitarān hamēmār hand*; cf. p. 32 f. and under d. The conclusion MhD. 13. 2 f. runs:

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

∴ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *ka var ān i 3 pād × ? × var pa nē dānom var-zišn*; i.e., when the *var* [is]⁵ the $× ? × × ? ×$, then he has⁶ to deliver⁷ the *var* on "I do not know".

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 certainly mean one and the same thing, although the last graphical combination is not written quite in the same manner. Most probably it could have meant *nīšān* = Pers. نشان, which generally means "token, mark",

1 A lawyer quoted several times; e.g., MhD. 5. 9; A. 4. 2; 16, 5, etc.; see above p. 6, note 1. 2 cf. below p. 41.

3 A lawyer seldom quoted; see MhD. 2. 15.

4 Ms. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

5 i.e. when the judge has decided upon that kind of *var*.

6 Namely *pasēmār*, the defendant; see p. 16, line 11.

7 As opposed to *var pa nē itēnīh*, "the *var* of being not true" in ll. 1-2; see p. 10, 16, 20, 40, 59.

but as second part of a compound word it can mean "setting down, establishing", cf. Pers. نشانیدن *nišāndan*, "imponere, deponere", a meaning which can be brought

into better harmony with the preceding word پاډ *pād* "foot". What could then be the meaning of the *var i pād nišān* or *var ān i pād nišān*, "the *var* of the one, who puts down his foot"? One can make different conjectures, e.g., that the one who was sworn had to place his foot on some object, regarding which it was supposed that it would bring harm in case of perjury; yet none of such conjectures can help much regarding the etymology; see also **b** and **d**.

b) In MhD. 78. 16 alongside with *var i pa sōkand*

(see above p. 13) there stands 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var i pa nāmāk pasāč*, i.e. "var with the drawing up of a letter." What does that mean? In MhDa. 15. 17 f, 16. 4 we read: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *uzēnak i pa nāmāk pasāč*, i.e. "the fees for the drawing up of the letter (written deed)." That does not help us any further. The *dāt, stān* in MhD. 78, 15-17 treats about providing an advocate (*pa yātakgōw vimārtan*, see MiranM. 2. 28 ff.) and the text of it is distorted. Probably it ought to be

read: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hač pa var i pa sōkand tāk pa var i pa nāmāk pasāč yātakgōw kart*. Does it mean, that there are certain limits by which the intervention of the advocate is restrained,² that his mediation is only valid

1 Ms. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tāk* "till" corresponds to the preceding 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hač* "from, of".

2 MhD. 74. 16-17 reads 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

for cases where certain kinds of *var* are performed, beginning with the *var i pa sōkand* and ending with the *vār i pa nāmak pasāč*, but not for cases, where a higher degree of *var* is involved?¹ Was the advocate entitled to perform the *var* in the place of the person represented by him? And, if so, was that right universal or only applied in certain cases on account of some exceptional circumstance in the affairs of the person represented?

c) In MhD. 13. 1 we find the combination *var i dēnīk*, i.e. *var ad religionem pertinens*. It seems,

that the sentence: *ka var i dēnīk pasēmār var pa nē*

ētōnīh varzišn takes here the place of the *ka var ān i pād nišān var pa nē dānom varzišn* quoted on p. 14, under β). In that case the *var ān i pād nišān* and *var i dēnīk* would be identical, and, whatever definition of some special kind of *var* is contained in the former, the same ought also to be concealed in *var i dēnīk*. It should accordingly be translated: "when the *var i dēnīk* [is decided upon], then the defendant has to deliver the *var* of the untruthfulness² [of the plaintiff's statement]". With the spurious exemplification of the *dāt, stān*, no sure surmise can be made. Nothing certain can also be deducted from the passage in the Dēnkart with *dēnīk var*, DkM.

ka gūwēl ku-m yūtākēw kart bāt kē guft ku-š tāk var kart bāt kē guft ku-š tāk graw kart bavēt, i.e. if he says: "Thou hast been appointed as defence by me":—some have said: "He is appointed till the *var* [is performed]"; others have said: "He is appointed up to [supplying] the security."

1 For this see p. 17.

2 *nē ētōnīh*, see p. 14, No. 7.

894. 2. Still, it is most probable that the kind of *var* which was appointed for the defendant might have been different: according to his legal and social status¹; according to the impression made by him on the judge; according to the matter in dispute; finally, also according to the degree of determination with which the defendant contested the statements of the plaintiff; in one instance (*a* β) he declares to know nothing about the matter: *nē dānom*, in the other one (*c*) he expressly calls the statements of his adversary untrue: *nē ētōnih*. See also p. 40.

I would draw attention to several passages in the Dēnkart, which, it seems to me, could be used to support

the above hypothesis. DkM. 761. 18: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *apar var i saxt asaxt-č*; West, SBE¹, 37. 130

§ 64 translates: "about an ordeal which is severe and one

which is not severe"; DkM. 709. 19 f.: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

u apar var i pa markaržān katām bavēt u masīh u kasīh i var, West, l.c. 59 § 40: "about which is the ordeal for one worthy of death, the greatness and the littleness of an

ordeal";²—DkM. 712. 12: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

gar mūk var i nitom katār, West, l.c. 63 § 66: "and which is the least heat ordeal".² Unfortunately, the preceding

part of the sentence with 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pahlom*, the opposite of *nitom*, is not clear. The well-meant, but all too brief abstracts in the Dēnkart remain in several instances

1 Jolly, "Recht und Sitte", 144, 145 f. DkM. 709. 16 deals with *var* for a criminal "worthy of death": *var i pa markaržān*; see line 18.

2 See above p. 6f.

Should we now compare the *pa* × ? × *var varzišn* under discussion with MhD. 13. 2: *var pa nē ētōnīh varzišn*, MhD. 13. 5: *pa nē dān_{st} var varzīt*, and MhD. 13. 3: *var pa nē dānom varzišn*, (see for it p. 42 line 3 ff.), we would be tempted to admit that in that *pa* × ? × *a* part of a sentence is contained, which might correspond in expression to one of the three negatory modes of expression: *pa nē ētōnīh*, "on the untruthfulness", *pa nē dān_{st}* "on the not-knowing" or *pa nē dānom* "on I do not know" (cf. p. 14), but which ought, however, to correspond to *pa nē ētōnīh* according to the sense in conformity with the state of things described, i.e. which ought to contain a denial of the assertion of the plaintiff. In that case, something more than a mere orthographical mistake would be contained therein.

Yet, such a supposition is most emphatically contradicted by the passage MhD. 5. 10, where the combination $\text{𐎧𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎡} \text{ } pa \times ? \times$ is also found. With an unimportant correction I read the passage: $\text{𐎧𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎡} \text{ } pa \times ? \times$

1 West's translation of ၁၂၄၆ in SBE. 37, 55, DkM. 706, 14 by "powerless" is incomprehensible to me.

18 l. 14 and p. 21 l. 11 *supra*, "*pa* × ? ×" is to be supplemented by: "on the bowl (with holy water)".

That instances of divine judgment as well could have been, and actually were, designated by the word *var*, and not exclusively the procedure of merely taking an oath, is proved beyond any possibility of doubt by evidence preserved in descriptions of such cases of *var* in other Middle-Persian books, see p. 8, line 1 f. It has to be further admitted, that for the judges, whose decisions and opinions have been preserved for us in the Sasanian Law-book, and for their time, the *var i pa sôkand*, the "*var* with sulphur-water", also meant something more than merely taking an oath, that it actually still had the meaning of divine judgment. And, finally, it is quite possible that in the Law-book the word *var*, even when accompanied by some particular additional definition (see p. 12 ff.), was meant to designate some kind of divine judgment. The conjecture, however, that certain particular forms of taking an oath accompanied by special symbolical concomitant actions were designated by the term *var*, is also admissible. I refer for it to Jolly, "Recht und Sitte", 144, regarding the various accessory actions accompanying the taking of an oath (*kapatha*-) in India, and again draw attention to the fact that the difference between the taking of an oath and the procedure of divine judgment is only one of degree. In any case, I have the impression that in all the passages of the Sasanian Law-book discussed above on pp. 12 ff. the exact meaning of the said passages is best of all expressed by rendering *var* by "oath".

Instances of *var* occurring in the Law-book in the sense of "oath" are fairly numerous. The more important are:

1. *var varzitan*.

It has already been mentioned on p. 8 that "to take an oath" is expressed by *var varzitan*; examples of it are: MhD. 6. 6; 13. 2, 3, 5, 8, 12, 15; 14. 2, 4, 5 f.; 76. 7; A. 19. 6; 23. 7, 8, 8, 9, 10, 10, 14; 27. 8. The passages 6. 6; 13. 2, 3, 15; 14. 2, 4, 6, have been translated and discussed above. From the other passages not very much can be gathered. In MhDA. 23. 7 ff. there stands six times

වෙ | ට | *var varzom*, 1. sing. pres.¹, and once || වෙ | ට |

var varzitan, Inf. But the *var* plays a very secondary rôle in the passage; what the author of the Law-book has in view, is to point out that the wording of decisions regarding agreements had to be considered in every detail for, otherwise, there easily might have followed results other than those aimed at by the decision.

As an example of it we can quote the sentence

MhDA. 23. 6-10: | වෙ | ට | 7 සි 7 වා || ජ ජ
 වා || ජ ජ | ජ 9 වා || ජ ජ වෙ | ට | වා || ජ ජ
 වා || ජ ජ | 8 සි 8 වා || ජ ජ [9] වෙ | ට | වා || ජ ජ
 වා || ජ ජ | 9 සි 9 වා || ජ ජ වෙ | ට | වා || ජ ජ
 වා || ජ ජ | 10 වා || ජ ජ වෙ | ට | වා || ජ ජ

1 See below, however, note 3 for MhDA, 23. 9.

2 Omitted in the edition.

3 In the edition වෙ | *varzom*, as the preceding.

The two (very cleverly planned) instances illustrate each other :

MhDA. 23. 1-6 runs : ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶

۲ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶
 ۳ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶
 ۴ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶
 ۵ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶
 ۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶

∴ ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ *ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak* 2 *apurnāy ēn*
čič ō tō dahom yuttar bavēt čiyōn ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak
purnāy 3 *bavēt ēn čič ō tō dahom čē ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak*
apurnāy ēn čič 4 *ō tō dahom ādak-aš pa gyāk bē dahišn*
u-š hangām tāk rētak purnāy bavēt 5 *x'ēš u-š pas nē x'ēš*
u ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak purnāy bavēt ō tō dahom 6 *ādak-*
aš pēš hač purnāyih i rētak bē dahišn u-š hamēvēn³ x'ēš;
i.e. When he says: "As long as the boy 2 is not of age,
 [for so long] do I bestow that on thee", then that is not
 the same, as when he says: "Until the boy comes of age

1 In the edition ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ .

2 In the edition ۱۲۱۳۴۵۶ .

3 cf. for the reading, etc. WZKM. 27. 372, note 2.

opportunity of warning them that he will not leave any of the two co-defendants unsworn; when a complaint is registered against two persons conjointly and they are contesting the statement made by the plaintiff, then only an oath taken by **both** can bring about a decision in their favour: that, in any case, seems to be the legal opinion underlying the dictum.

Supplementary to the above MhD. 13, 8 may be quoted, which runs: ۱۹۱۵۱۳۱۳ | ۱-۳۳۳۳ | ۱... ۳۳

۳-۳۳۳۳ | ۱-۳۳۳۳ | ۱۹۱۵۱۳۱۳ | ۳-۳۳۳۳ | ۳-۳۳۳۳
 ۳-۳۳۳۳ ka...u sardār u katak bānūk sardār nē bē
 katak bānūk var varzišnīh rād patkārēnd, i.e. and when
 [of the two:] the master and the mistress,² not the
 master, but [indeed] the mistress objects to taking the
 oath; see for it p. 38, line 23 ff.

2. *dāt, stān pa var.*

When the statements made by the parties and their witnesses during the hearing of evidence in court were so contradictory as not to enable the judge to deliver a decision based on the evidence of the case, then the decision came to the *var*: *dāt, stān pa var mat* or also *d° bē var mat*,³ see MhD. 76, 7; 14, 3 (see p. 13); the

1 cf. p. 39 f., where the text wanting here is given.

2 For the expression *sardār u katak bānūk sardār*, literally, "the master and the mistress of the house, the master", in the above sense see zSR. 1. 35 f. Two further examples are found in MhD. 105. 5, 6: ۱۹۱۵۱۳۱۳ ۲ ۱۹۱۵۱۳۱۳ dast, kart 2 har ēvak, "of two pieces of ground each one"; ۱۹۱۵۱۳۱۳ ۳ ۱۹۱۵۱۳۱۳ u ān dast, kart ēvak, "and of these (two) pieces of ground one".

3 "res venit ad iusjurandum", "it comes to the oath". I shall deal in another place with the use of ۳-۳۳۳۳ bē in the sense of ۱۹۱۵۱۳۱۳ pa—*bē var*=*pa var*—, the same as the Lat. *ad*.

decision then had to be reached by means of a *var*, that is to say, in general, by taking the oath. It was announced by the judge by the usual formula¹ *dāt, stān pa var*, i.e. "decision through oath!", which are used in the context of a sentence in the same manner as *pašt dāt x'aš* (see SL. 1. 17 ff.), that is to say, in the sense of "decision through *var*"; cf. MhD. 6, 5 = 14, 1 (p. 3 f.); 13, 9. According to circumstances (see p. 13), a particular kind of *var* might be considered necessary and announced; 13, 9 bears *dāt, stān pa var i pa sōkand*, "decision through *var* with sulphur (-water)", and MhD. 14, 3 has: *dāt, stān bē var i pād nišān mat* "the decision has come to the *var* x ? x x ? x", see p. 13 f.

3. *pa var vēhdāt, stāntar*.

The judge has furthermore to find out and to decide, which of the two parties concerned has the priority for the decision through the *var* (the oath), which of the parties is to be considered as "nearer to proving by oath", as ΟΡΚΙΟΤΕΡΟΣ (according to the expression of the Gortynian tables): *pa var vēhdāt, stāntar*, "offering through the *var* the better decision"; cf. MhD. 6, 5 = 14, 1 (p. 3); 13, 7; 14, 10, 12, 15, 16. As a general rule, the defendant is considered to be nearer to proving, like in Greek law: "The right (of taking the oath) did generally belong to the defendant", see Ziebarth in Pauly's "Realenzyklop."², 5. 2081, and like in German law, see Schröder, "D. Rechtsgesch."³, 87, 373. cf. MhD. 6, 5 = 14, 1: *ka* (or *hakar*) *dāt, stān pa var pasēmār vēhdāt, stāntar*, see p. 3 f.; 14, 15; 13, 6 f.: *ka...pa var pasēmār hač pēšēmār vēhdāt, stāntar*, i.e. "when the defendant² has the preference before the plaintiff for the decision through the *var*". Only in special cases is the plaintiff

1 "certa verba" see p. 13, note 3, SL. 1. 52, note.

2 The party accused, see p. 38, line 28 ff.

bavand [u] *pa tōžīšn x'āstak* 13 *hač dūtak bē ap.spā-rēnd* [u] *pus 1 i andar dūtak ō purnāyīh rasēt u ōē ke x'āstak* 14 *bē grift hamēmār bavēt pa pēšēmārīh dāt-stān xūp*, i.e. "When the chief of the family and the mistress of the house recognize the payment [-obligation] towards a [former] master of the house and disburse the money for the payment from the family-estate, and [when then] a son in the family comes of age and registers a complaint¹ against the one who has taken the money, then the decision lies better with the plaintiff's party".²

Remarks on MhD. 14. 7-10 (A) and 15, 12-14 (B).

1. **The legal case** is couched as follows: The natural detainer of the family-authority (*dūtak sardār*, in B merely *sardār*), that is the master of the house (*katak x'atāy*), has by some reason, for instance, through death, withdrawn from his position, and another one has been set up for the same, say, by virtue of an arrangement contained in the last will (as in Syriac Law, **Sachau**, *SyrRechtsb.* 3, 127)³. This one and the mistress of the house (*katak bānūk*) consider themselves under the obligation of settling the demand of payment made by an Iranian citizen (*mart i šahr*, see under 3), which had arisen on account of a legal transaction of the former detainer of the family-authority (د [و] و س و س)

1 *hamēmār bavēt*: see for it p. 72.

2 Literally: "plaintiffship".

3 **Sachau** translates the Persian legal term *dādag salār*, taken over into the Syriac translation through "**Hausoberhaupt**" in the text, and through "**Haushalter**" in the Index; see **Sachau**, o.c. 3, 127, 378.

ܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ
 ܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ

ܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ
mart i šahr kē-š x'āstak pa
x'āstakdārīh awiš dahand āpām i pas hač dāt³ ō apāyēt
vičārtan, i.e. "the citizen, on whom a thing is bestowed
 for possession, must pay the debts [of the donor from
 the time] after the donation"³. The difference in the
 obligations is certainly not especially emphasized, but
 it becomes obvious from the context: the son of the
 family is in a similar case not responsible for such
 later debts. [In both passages bequeathings by means of
 a last will are meant; *x'āstakdār* means also "the heir";
 cf. PahlT. vv. 4 and Hübschmann, AGr. 161.]

The female counterpart of *mart i šahr* is "the
 countrywoman", ܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ *žan i šahr*, which is used
 to denote any woman not belonging to the family; that
 follows from MhD. 82, 13, 16, where *žan i šahr* and *žan i*
x'eš, "one's own wife", are opposed to each other.

4. *pa pešēmārīh dāt, stān xūp : xūp* "good" is used,
 on the pattern of *vēh* (which means both "better" and
 "good") in the sense of "better", that is to say, instead
 of *xūptar*; and vice versā, there also exists the form
vēhtar alongside with *vēh*. Moreover, when A is designat-
 ed as good, as opposed to B, then he certainly is the better
 one of the two.

1 Ms. ܡܪܬܝܫܗܪܝܢ.

2 Whether *āpām i pas hač dāt* is correctly transmitted, seems to
 me very doubtful; *dāt* ought to be then understood as substantive
 noun "gift". MhD. 61. 6 has—with *pēš* "before" instead of *pas* "after"
 —more clearly: *āpām i pēš hač ān (i) ka-š x'āstak be dāt stūt vičārīšn*
i.e. "the debt, which was contracted by him before the thing was be-
 stowed, is to be paid".

before the court of his being under the obligation of debt by the one who pays the money and the production of a juridical evidence that the money was given in payment (not as a gift) on the side of the one who receives the money: these two conditions give occasion for transferring the "being nearer to the oath" in favour of the defendant.

Farther below, MhD. 14, 16, it is again mentioned, that under certain circumstances the plaintiff (*pēšēmār*) is nearer to the oath; but the text is not clear enough for me.

4. *var dātan*.

After the judge had found out and decided, which of the parties is nearer to proving, his next task was to apply to them the *var*, which he considered appropriate for that particular case: *var dātan*, that is to say, to invite them to deliver the *var* (see 3) appointed by him; also, in the case when the party consisted of more than one person, to decide, whether the oath had to be taken by one person only, or by all of them. I draw that conclusion from MhD. 13, 6 ff. (see p. 28) and MhD. 13, 8 ff. (see p. 29), where a case is quoted, when one of the two persons constituting the party "enters a protest with regard to the taking of the oath", which obviously means: wishes to decline the imposed oath on the ground that the oath taken by one of the persons belonging to the party is sufficient (see p. 29).

I refer for the use of *var dātan* to MhD. 13, 12, see p. 27 and 13. 6-8, where it is said: ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ
ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ
ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

5. The wording and the contents of the oath.

These also were fixed by the judge. If the defendant was considered nearer to proving, as usual, then in most cases the mere **denial** on oath of the statement, on which the claim of the plaintiff was founded, the assurance on oath of the **untruth** of what has been asserted by the plaintiff as a fact, its *nē ētōnīh*, i.e. its being not thus, its unreality, was sufficient. cf. MhD. 13, 2: *var pa nē ētōnīh varzišn*, "to deliver the *var* on it not being thus"; that *dāt, stān*, the beginning of which is lost with the preceding folio, deals with a claim raised against the son and the heirs on account of an outstanding debt of the parents (see p. 15, line 9f.); the assertion of a loan having been granted (and of the resulting indebtedness) is repudiated by the *var pa nē ētōnīh*. Compare for the meaning and the use of *nē ētōnīh* also MhD. 6, 4, at the bottom of p. 3.


In the special often discussed case, when the plaintiff demands from the defendant the return of a thing, which is his property, but is unlawfully detained in his possession by the latter (cf., e.g., MhD. 14, 3, see p. 13, note 3), the place of the *var pa nē ētōnīh*, as in MhD. 6, 5 f., 14, 5 f. (s. pp. 3-5) is taken by the *var pa nē x'ēšīh*, "the oath on the non-belonging", viz. of the thing to the plaintiff; the formula for it is traced in MhD. 14, 4: *ka var ētōn varzēt ku nē tō x'ēš* and 14, 6: *ka var ētōn varzēt ku āturfarnbay x'ēš nē būt*; v. supra, p. 3 f.

When the complaint comprised a series of statements essentially interdependent, then, according to the judgment of the judge, the denial on oath by the plaintiff of the statement decisive for the justification of the claim and forming the basis of the other statements (as far as the other statements dependent on it were thereby also denied), was considered sufficient. The oath thus

taken was then *bavandak*, i.e. "satisfactory, sufficient"; see line 19 ff.

The case is expounded in MhD. 6, 2-6 and 14, 5-7 (see for it pp. 3 and 4), where the plaintiff asserts that the thing, which he claims to be his property, had been first the property of A, and then became—directly or indirectly (through B, C, and so on)—his property; then it is sufficient, if the defendant denies on oath the ownership of A with regard to the thing: *var ēvāc pa nē x'ēših i āturfarnbay* (i.e. A) *varzišn* MhD. 6, 5 f.; *ka var ētōn varzēt ku āturfarnbay* (i.e. A) *x'ēš nē būt var bavandak* MhD. 14, 6 f.

This simplification of the proceedings in favour of the defendant is, to be sure, not designated as universally valid and recognized; it only expresses, it is said, the opinion of certain lawyers; but amongst them *Vahrām* is also named, and he is, in any case, one of the most distinguished Sasanian lawyers.

var bavandak: I have translated it in MhD. 14, 7 (p. 6) and 14, 5 (p. 14): "the oath is sufficient". No satisfactory meaning can be reached by the usual rendering of *bavandak* as "perfect". For my translation I am able to refer: (1) to the meaning of the Arm. loan-word *bavandak* (and the related verb *bavel*), see the literature in Hübschmann's IFAnz. 10, 36; and, moreover, (2) to some further passages in the Law-book itself: MhD. 60, 11, 12, 15 (twice). The last mentioned passages deal with the case of an obligation to accomplish certain acts, viz. payments (*tōžišn*) from certain sources, in connexion with which the question is raised, what is to happen, if these sources prove to be insufficient; that is expressed by:  *pa tōžišn nē bavandak*. Unfortunately the text of the dictum MhD. 60, 10-16, is

i.e. of his description of the case". Yet, the *pa* is there (and it happens far more often that the copyists omit words, than they should add any), and, on the other hand, the information is lacking as to how or whereby the certainty had to be established. I should like to

admit that between 𐭯𐭥 *pa* and 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ēvarīh* the word 𐭥 *var* had fallen out. Then we arrive at the meaning of the dictum: "hereafter the plaintiff has to establish the certainty through oath". This, it seems to me, fits perfectly well. The deviation of the scribe from the first combination 𐭥 *var* to the second 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ēvarīh* is quite comprehensible.

When the *var* was accomplished in wording and contents according to the orders of the judge and in conformity with other regulations regarding the different kinds of *var* (all that under the supervision of the *var sardār*, see 6), then the judge, who until then might have been in doubt (*varōmand*) with regard to the decision in weighing the proofs (*nikīrišn*), because of the contradictory statements by the parties, was sure (*ēvar*, see MhDA. 27, 8)¹, to be able to decide correctly upon the case, and it was therefore his duty to pass his sentence.

6. *var sardār*.

The charge of the entire *var*-procedure, with due care that it should be fulfilled in all its parts in the prescribed forms, was entrusted to a special court-official, who bore the title of 𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥 *var sardār*, *i.e.* literally "detrainer of the authority of the *var*"; see MhDA. 27, 7

¹ *ēvar* is used like our "sure" or "certain" in a double sense, passive and active.

pātīrān is proved by these passages—I doubt it, and refer to p. 48, line 11 ff.—still, it is certain that it also has other meanings.

In Šv. 16, 26 and 41 we find the words *pātīrānīhēt* and *pātīrān kartārīh*.¹ **Neryosang** explains them through Skr. *pratiskhalyate* and *skhalanakāritā*, whilst **West**, SBE. 24. 245 f. translates them “is exhausted” and “exhaustion”. What **Neryosang** means to imply by his translation is not quite clear to me; but **West**’s translation is certainly erroneous. Neither has **Salemann**, *MémAcPét.* 8. 6 (1904). 6. 12 f. rendered correctly the sense of these passages. That controversial representation of the teaching of *Mānī* is concerned with the endeavours of the Spirit of the Darkness to keep fast (and back) the kidnapped particles of light in the bodies of the living beings through an uninterrupted reproduction, “in order, that the separation² should last longer”—as opposed to the endeavours of the sun and the moon to draw to themselves those particles of light in order to restore them to the abode of the Highest Light;—see for it M. 470 in FWK Müller, *HssReste*, 19 f.; Flügel, “Mani”, 89 f., 249.³

The same meaning holds good for the passage DkM. 343. 6, which deals with the fetters imposed on the neck of every man when he is begotten; see **Freimann**, WZKM. 20. 263. From the neck of the righteous these fetters shall fall off at their death, but not so in the case of the impious: سج سست سسوسن وک سج سست وک

1 In Avestan characters (Pāzand).

2 Of light and darkness.

3 “The light (had) by the means of continuous procreation to be more and more **conjured away**”; see below p. 49, line 2.

4 وک is the ideogram for س. It could also be read س “that one”, but س is in similar instances as here the far more familiar pronoun.

nēnd); **Nēryosang** renders the one through *rakṣanti*,¹ the other (similar to Šv. 16. 26, see p. 46, line 4 ff.) through *pratiskhalanti*; the Pers. translation offers for both the verbs alike دور کردن *dūr kardan* "to remove, to keep away".* I think, we shall not make a mistake, if we apply to *pātīrānēnītan* or *pātīrān kartan* quite similar meanings, as those, which express the AI. ¹*pā(i)-* (see AirWb. 885), proceeding, indeed, from the original meaning "**retinere**". This holds good for the words in PV. 18. 63—cf. the translation of the Avesta-text by **Wolff**, "Avesta", 424²—, for the combination *pātīrān šusr* (see for it p. 45, note 2), i.e. "one whose sperm is retained",³

* The meaning "to keep away" ("fern halten") is somewhat inexact in application to the verb دور کردن.—*Note by the Translator.*

1 I have pointed out in ZendHss. 245, that the AI. verb *rakṣati* "he protects" (Gr. ὀλέξω), which had not been identified in Iranian, is actually to be found in the Rivāyāt. I avail myself of the opportunity of drawing attention to Šn. 138. 170; there the word رخشد *raxšanda* also means "protecting". The usual explanation of the word—that *raxšanda* would be standing instead of **rōxšanda* "shining"—is contradicted both by phonetics and the meaning itself of the passage: تو رخشد گاه منست *nišim i tu raxšandagāh i manast*, i.e. thy nest is my place of protection (asylum).†

2 Compare with the translation by **Geldner**, SPReuss AW. 1903. 429, the parallelism between **iāčam tarmanam* and **uošyeitnam*... *varšā* ("currentium cursuum" — "crescentium ... crescentias").

3 "*clausus*" by **Maaler**, see **Heyne**, DWb.³ 3. 1202.

† There is no need of any intermediary **rōxšanda*; for the Pers. رخشد, as a rule, always means "shining": تو رخشد گاه منست (Firdawsi); the passage quoted here: تو رخشد گاه منست is quite simply translated: "thy seat is a source of light for me".—*Note by the Translator.*

as well as for the passage DkM. 344. 2, where it can be quite well translated "banish". cf. for it p. 46, note 3.¹

In DkM. 711. 7 f. *pātīrānīh i var* does certainly not mean anything, but what it means in MhDA. 27, 8; yet here West's "cancelling" is quite impossible; I give for *pātīrānīh (i var)* the meaning "becoming aware of, paying attention to, supervising, watching over", corresponding to the third meaning accepted in AirWb. 885 for ²*pā(y)-*, and I thus obtain for the first part of the passage in MhD. the translation: "The detainer of the authority of the *var* [is] to superintend [the procedure] of the *var* up to the delivery of the *var*". The word *var*, it is true, is taken here in a somewhat different sense, first as an expression for the totality of the *var*-procedure, for all the ritualistic actions, which were connected with the taking of the oath, and secondly for the oath itself. That *sardār* is used in the sense of "leader, overseer (or the like)", has nothing surprising in it; cf. Hübschmann, AGr. 235.

The *yazišn (i pa var)*, i.e. "praying, solemn recitation", which follows in the explanation of *var sardār*, most probably means "repeating" the oath² in a sing-song manner. The oath was read out to the person who was sworn and repeated by him. [An oath-formula of the more recent period referring to the purification-oath has been published in my ZendHss. 145 f.; further infor-

1 A few passages in MhD. with *pātīrān* and *pātīrānēntān*: A.3. 9-11; 14, 12 f.; 20, 5; 26, 16 are not yet quite clear for me. In the first passage there occurs twice *bar* (WZKM. 27. 372, note 1) *pātīrān kunīšn*.

2 *yazišn*, or *yaštān* would, thus, stand in a certain opposition to *gōwišn*, or *guftān*, see p. 22, by which a simple oral statement before the court not couched in any solemn form, is designated.

hač — 𐭠𐭥𐭥 instead of 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 —, i.e. "after". Nothing of importance for the understanding of the meaning can be gathered from the passage. As a causative of the verb *raftan* "to go", *rāyēnītan* means literally "to put in motion" (or "to keep going"). In SLB. 35 I admitted, that by *var rāyēnīšn* the "arrangement" of the *var* was meant, that is to say, the same thing, which is expressed in the Dēnkart by the verbs 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sāxtan*, 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *saxtan* or 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pasāxtan*; see DkM. 710. 1; 771. 22; 743. 12; 771. 17. That I consider now to be quite doubtful. DkM. 711. 10 and 712. 14 deals with a demand, a request for a *var* — 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var x'āstan* —, which is raised by the plaintiff or the defendant. *var rāyēnītan* may possibly express the same: **to urge on** the *var* (see SL. I, 29), to bring about, that the legal decision should be arrived at through the *var*.

[9. *var gāh*.

For the sake of completeness I also mention the expression: 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 "the place, the locality of the *var*", although it does not occur in the Law-book itself, yet in the Dēnkart abstracts from some juridical book are given DkM. 707. 8, containing that expression. We receive no nearer information as to the disposition of the place of the *var*. I suppose, however, that the mere fact of the existence of the term shows that the place, where the *var* was delivered, where the oath had to be taken, was arranged in some particular manner, although that arrangement might have consisted in nothing besides drawing a furrow encircling the *varīk* (see p. 12, line 18) and separating him from the other persons present

in the court, so that the mysterious powers, from which it was expected that they would destroy him in case of perjury, should not inflict any harm on those standing outside the circle, cf. **Spiegel**, AwÜbers. 2. LVI; that would quite agree with a similar custom among the German people; see **von Amira**, l.c. 271, with note. In the Iranian religious ceremonies such separation by furrows was also usual; see AirWb. 157, under ¹*karša*.]

2. **اودن** *nikīrišn* — I read thus instead of the transmitted **اودن**, which is certainly quite similar in shape, but entirely different as regards its meaning and origin,—it is the Nom. Act. of **اودن** *nikīrītan* “to contemplate, to observe, to examine, to investigate (etc.)” —with the old *k*; cf. the Pers. **نگردن** *nigarīdan*—and is a term denoting the examination of what has been asserted by the parties during the proceedings, the weighing and considering of the material of evidence necessary for coming to a decision. It is true, that *nikīrišn* is besides exemplified in the MhD. only in 78. 6 and 7; *nikīrītan*, however, and, indeed, in the Infinitive form, is richly represented. [It is most peculiar that the word sometimes stands at the end of a dictum without any syntactical connection whatever with the preceding part of the sentence; thus, in any case, MhD. 15, 1¹ and 72, 12 (cf. SL I. 12, line 20 ff.); it seems that this Infinitive is used in a similar sense, as *dāt, stān pa var*, see p. 29, that is to say, in the sense of “advance evidence! hearing of witnesses!”, as an order issued by the judge]. For the juridical meaning of *nikīrišn* see also PahlT. 13, 12 f.: *pāt, frās pa nikīrišn kun*, “punish (only) on ground of n^o.”

1 The translation of the passage given in SLB., 28, 1.3 is wrong.

On the meaning of the MPB. اودیس

Earlier in SL. I, 11, I did not object to the word اودیس — it also occurs with the spelling اودیس — in the passage MhD. 6, 4, where I read it *nikīray* and accepted it in the sense of *nikīrišn*. That was a mistake. The meaning of the word lies in a totally different domain; it is, besides, a Nomen Agentis—used mostly as a predicate and appearing then most often with the verb *būtan* “to be, to become”, thus MhD. 6, 12; 8, 2; 13, 14; 16, 15, 17; 77, 10; 107, 7—, not a Nomen Actionis¹; finally, there seems to be no doubt as to the possibility of transcribing it otherwise than has been done up to the present. اودیس, i.e. *viyirāy*, see p. 58, line 9 ff., is in several instances opposed to اودیس *x'astūk* (for that see SPReussAkW. 1909. 1212), cf. p. 31 f. on MhD. 14, 7 ff. and 15, 12 ff.

Of a particular importance for the comprehension of اودیس seems to me to be the dictum MhD. 16, 14-17. It treats, like the passages quoted on p. 14, of a claim regarding the pending debts of a deceased master of a house raised against the mistress of the house and the new detainer of the family authority. We read there:

15 اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس (1) اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس
اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس
اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس
اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس
اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس اودیس

¹ See also p. 56, line 15 ff.

Noteworthy for the passage here translated is the notice in the Denkart, DkM. 718, 3, which, as it seems, refers directly to this dictum : ۴۴ اوستا-سپهر-سپهر

1 Regarding the construction (with $h\check{a}c$) see p. 58.

2 Cf. for the expression MhD. 6, 12 (see p. 67) and 105, 10. In the latter passage there stands: $\text{framān i pas kār u ān i pēš kār nēst}$, i.e. "the later disposition is effective and the earlier ineffective". My translation of MhD. 4, 17 in SLB. 21 has to be slightly modified. The passage MhD. 48, 8 is distorted.

[preceding] recognition". I refer for the translation of such abstracts of contents in the Dēnkart to p. 17, line 25 ff.

The opposition *x'astūk-viṣrāy* can further be found in MhD. 77, 9-10, as well as 107, 5-7. It reads as follows: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 [𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥] 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 6 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

..... 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 8 *x'astak* 1 *hač x'astūkīh*

[i] *pit pa vināskārīh i apurnāyīk 6 bērōn bē ap,spārēnd adāp bē ap,spārtan rād vičir kunēnd apurnāyīk 8 purnāy u viṣrāy barēt...*; i.e. With the consent of the father they deliver up, to the prejudice of the not of age [son], a part of the property, or they draw up a statement to the purpose of [a future] delivery. The not of age [son] comes [after that] of age and contests it;...

Further MhD. 95, 7-8: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

(1) 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 8 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *

..... *žan i hač žanīh hišt (u) patkārēt ku šōd apāk x'astak 8 hilišn hom u šōd apāk¹ x'astak hištan rād viṣrāy...*; i.e. a woman, who is dismissed from matrimony, intents a lawsuit: "The husband has to dismiss me with my property", and the husband contests the dismissal with the property,...

1 Wanting in the Ms.; supplemented from the sentence by the plaintiff.

* The quotation has 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, most probably a misprint.—Note by the Translator.

NTR''YT *niyarāyat*, in Gauthiot's Gr.Sogd. 64, 146, *nīy°rāy°t*, has the same meaning: "to greet, to honour", as the verb composed with *ā*. The MS. verbal form is, above and besides, at the same time instructive for the final *-āy* of the MPB. word.

All this ultimately results in establishing that *وییرای* *viyirāy*, contrary to *نیکیریش* *nikirīšn* (see p. 52, line 9 ff.), contains the ancient *g*, as far as it belongs to the same category as the AI. *gr̥nā-ti*, *gūrtā-*, the Lat. "*grātus*", etc. The correlation of the meanings of JAW. *āyairyāt*, MPB. *āyirihāt*; MS. *niyarāyat*; and MPB. *viyirāy*, does find its counterpart in the analogous by its meaning verb **gāi-* "to sing"; see AI. *āgāyati* (*ā gāsi*, RV. 8, 27. 2); AI. *nigāyati*, MPT. *nigāyām* (for it also MPB. *نیراییش* *nīyāyišn*¹); AI. *vigāyati*; cf. the PW.

3. *ētōnīh*, "exactness":

is an abstract formation from *ētōn* "thus"—cf. for the form AI. *tathātvaṃ*—, meaning literally "being thus", further, "actuality, exactness". The expression *ētōnīh i x'ēš* "the own exactness" stands in the pregnant sense for "the exactness of own things (i.e. statements)". Possibly, however, the original text MhD. 6, 4 f. might have run: *pa nē ētōnīh i ān hamāk čč ētōnīh i ān i x'ēš apāč apāyēt guftan*. For the meaning of *apāč guftan* I refer to Pers. *باز گفتن* *bāz guftan*, "pronuntiare, palam facere".

A passive verbal formation from *ētōn* "thus"—or, rather, more correctly, a verbalisation of *ētōnīh*, see Bthl.

1. See for it Bthl., ZendHss. 373 f.

WZKM. 29. 44 ff.—is *ētōnīhēt* “it is, it becomes being thus”, as much as “it comes true”; cf. MiranM. I. 38.

A corresponding formation is 𐎠𐎼𐎡𐎹, most often 𐎠𐎼𐎡𐎹, Part. Perf. Pass. (from the so-called Passive), derived from an adverb almost equivalent to *ētōn*, viz. 𐎠𐎼𐎡𐎹 *āngōn*¹ “in that way, thus”, which is often written 𐎠𐎼𐎡𐎹,—that is, *āngōnīhīt* [-*ak*].² The word can be often rendered through “such”. [According to the Pazandists, the word ought to be read *angōšitak*, and thus it is, in fact, although with certain misgivings, read by **Salemann**, *MémAcPét.* 8, 6. (1904), line 4. **West**, SBE. 37, 160 (and elsewhere) gives the transcription *āngunī-aitō*, having possibly understood it correctly].

¹ Cf. *IndAnt.* 11. 229, line 11.

² The correct spelling is found, for instance, in *DkM.* 17, 18.

V. MhD. 6, 6-9.

[On offering guaranties in the case of sale].

1 gyāk bē dast,warān hač

In the [book]
"Dast,warān" a
passage is quoted:

x'āstak ka 7 dast,war ku¹ nipišt

When the owner
has sold a thing
to somebody and
that somebody³,

ān kē kas u frōxt² kas ō

to whom he has
sold the thing is
accused on ac-

ān pa frōxt awiš x'āstak

count of the
thing in another
place, then he⁵

hamēmār šahr 8 hān pa x'āstak

must absolutely
go there, where
a complaint has

arītārīh ku-š ānōd ō hat

been raised⁷
against him⁶ on
account of the

nē ēstēt kart hamēmārīh rād⁴

purchase, and the
expenses for it
[are to be met]

u-š šavēt ka bē 9 pāt,xšāy

by him from his

x'ēš hač uzēnak

own.

The transmitted text requires trifling **corrections**
in three places. (1) In line 6 there comes after the

1 In the Ms. there follows 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭲.

2 Wanting in the MS.





3 The person, *kas*; cf. p. 70, note*.

4 Supplemented.



5 The owner; see p. 63.

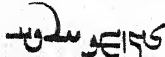


6 The buyer.

7 See below p. 71, under 2.

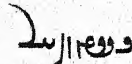
introductory sentence...*ku* a superfluous  *ka*, a word introducing in most cases the juridical decision; here the necessary *ka* stands (written, as often occurs¹, ) after *dast_owar*, which, being the logical subject both of the protasis and the apodosis, is placed before.—2. After  *o kas* in line 7 the verb has fallen out, which cannot be anything but the same as in the relative sentence, namely *frōxt* “sold”; I have supplied it in the spelling, in which it appears there.—3. In line 8 the copyist has omitted between the two words with the same ending *xrītārīh* and *hamēmārīh* the word  *rād*, without disturbing the structure of the phrase.

For the transcription of isolated words the following may be said in explanation :



a) I consider  to be, certainly, an incorrect graphical variant of , i.e. *hat*, for which see *MiranM.* I. 50, note 2; as this mistake is extremely frequent I did not correct it².

b)  *xrītārīh*. The spelling of the word is noteworthy. The scribe had decomposed it into *xrīt* + *ārīh* and expressed, like in *MhD.* 7. 5, 6, *xrīt* by means of the verbal ideogram and the usual sign  or ; see *Bthl.*, *MiranM.* II. 22, note.

Linguistical and objective remarks.

1.  *dast_owar* :

The word very often recurs in the chapter from which our dictum is taken (*MhD.* 5, 3—8. 14), it bears,

¹ Strictly correct would have been *ka-š* ( or  (i.e., “when by him”; yet, the encl. pronoun is in no wise necessary.

² See also below p. 64, note 1, p. 69, note 3.

١٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠
 و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠
 و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠
 و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠








u-š en-č nipišt ku ka farroax' i hač x ? x a'āstak 1 bē ō 6
mihryōn i hač kāzrōn frōxt [u] pas mihryōn pa ān x'āstak
pēš kāzrōn dātacar hamēmār 7 būt farroax' nē pāt,axšāy
bē ka bē ō kāzrōn āyēt [u] pa dastawarīh andar ēstēt; bē-š
patkārišn andar, būt kē guft ku pāt,axšāy ka nē āyēt, i.e.
 And by him² it is also written: "When a thing is sold
 by *Farroax'* from [the city] X to *Mihryōn* from [the city
 of] *Kāzrōn*, and afterwards *Mihryōn* is sued on account
 of that thing before the judge of *Kāzrōn*, then *Farroax'* has
 no other alternative but to go to *Kāzrōn* and to answer for
 his right of disposal [before the court]. There, certainly,
 exists a difference of opinion; some [lawyers] have said:
 he needs not to go".

Our misgivings with regard to the contents of the
 dictum MhD. 6, 6 ft. are in so far not wholly unfounded,
 as the journey of the vendor requested by that dictum,
 (moreover at his own expense) for the purpose of giving
 evidence is not exacted by all lawyers. No information,
 however, is given as to how, in their opinion, the lawsuit
 intended against the buyer should be decided upon.



1 Ms. ٥١١٥; cf. above p. 62, under a.




2 Namely, by the lawyer *Vāyayāwar*, *Vāyayār* (و٢٢٠ و٢٢٠)
 liter. "the friend of *Vāy*", in *Justi's NB.*, 497 below), who is men-
 tioned by name also before (5, 4); see also MhD. 23, 1; 31, 4; 54, 1;
 A. 7, 8 etc.

For the comprehension of the dictum MhD. 5, 5—8, I think it necessary to insert the following remarks:

1.  and : are two names of cities, the latter being *Kāzrōn* (کازرون *Kāzarūn*¹). The graphical combination  allows, of course, of a whole series of readings; yet, I was unable to connect it with the name of any known city². The same name also occurs in MhD. 100, 9, 12; in the latter passage a   $\times ? \times$ *dātawar*, i.e. judge from $\times ? \times$ corresponds to   *kāzrōn dātawar*, i.e. the judge from

1 The author transcribes it "*Kāzrūn*", which is not quite exact: the name of that city is generally pronounced in Persian with a *fath* to the *z*, the popular etymology of the word being, that it is the Plural-form of کازر *kāzar* "a fuller" (کازرون instead of کازران *kāzarān*).—*Note by the Translator.*

2 In DkM. 517, 7, 8, 11; 583, 22; 584, 4; 745, 12, the word  means "a hollow in the ground, a hole in the earth, a cavity in the earth, a ditch", as opposed to  *čakāt* (DkM. 517, 8; 583, 22; 584, 1, 2, 6), i.e. "an elevation above the ground, a hillock, a hill" (West, SBE 37. 108 reads in DkM. 745, 12. *gōbar*, which is supposed to be the same as the Persian گور *gōr* "tomb". Most astonishing statements are made by Sanjana, DkS. 11b. 76, note). I read the word *duwr*, which I correlate with OCSl. *ďubrŭ* "ravine"; see for it Berneker SIEtWb. 242. considering, that the Slav. word is also used as a name of a place, is it possible to read the MPB name of the city likewise *duwr*; yet, no city of that name is known to me.

In Šnš. 3. 12 a word  is also transmitted; the Munich-ZendMs. 51 punctuates it . West, SBE. 5. 279, reads here *dūbal*, with the translation "pail"; he certainly had in mind the Persian دول *dōl* "pitcher"; but that word exists in MPB. in the shape ; see DkM. 404, 9, where it is used for the amphora in the ecliptic.

4. *bē-š patkārišn andar*: That the opinions of Sasanian lawyers differed very frequently is seen almost on every page of the MhD. But the negative opinion is not presented anywhere else with so solemn an introduction.

The combination *hač dast, warān bē* is found, besides MhD. 6, 6, also in MhD. 13, 16; 76, 6 and 88, 6. In 28, 9 there stands *hač d° āngōn nipišt*; *bē* has been obviously omitted by mistake. We further read in MhD. 69, 16 *hač syāvaš bē*, 70, 13 *hač rātōhrmazd bē*, 67, 8 *hač syāvaš u rātōhrmazd bē*, 67, 15 *hač rāt¹ bē*, 98, 1 = A. 16, 14 f. *hač pusānvēh i āzātmartān bē*, and A. 9, 5 *hač vahrām-šāt² u rātōhrmazd bē*. The verb there is mostly *nipišt* "scriptum est", sometimes *guft³* "dictum est". *bē* cannot be considered as a mere verbal particle, because, except 69, 16, 70, 13 and 76, 6, where it stands before *nipišt* and 98, 1 = A. 16, 15, where it stands before *guft*, it is everywhere separated from the verb. Therefore, the *bē* must stand in connection with *hač*—and, indeed, there occurs

𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *bē hač*; see Spiegel, Einl. I. 147—, so that the combination *hač—bē*, with the noun depending from *hač* between the two, corresponds exactly and literally to the German *von—aus*. 𐭥𐭥 *bē* is here the same word, which lies at the bottom of the MPB. superlative 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *bētom*, MPT. BYDUM *bēdom* "extimus", see Bthl. Zum Air Wb. 50f. note, and which most often occurs in the

1 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥; certainly an abbreviation of 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *Rātōhrmazd*. *Rāt* does not otherwise occur in the MhD. *Rātōhrmazd* occurs frequently, see above line 10, 13 and p. 71, line 23 f. [In Justi's NB. the name is wanting].

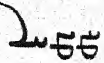
2 cf. p. 70, note 1.

3 MhD. 88. 6, written, as often occurs, 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥.

regard to the possessor (it is written)", which would fit most accurately the passage MhD. 6, 6—in *dar i dast_owar*, see p. 63, line 1 ff. It would be inadmissible from the grammatical point of view to translate: "by the *dast_owar*s (those learned in writing) (it is written)". I, therefore, think, that *dast_owarān* is the title of a collective juridical work, most probably being an abbreviation of a more extensive title. Only in that way can the *hač—bē* be understood to mean one and the same thing in all the passages quoted. Thus, *hač—bē* (*nipišt*, *guft*) would be: "ex (auctore)...., ex (libello).... (scriptum, dictum est)", i.e. from (the author)...., from (the book).... is (quoted, cited, in writing, orally).

To confirm that opinion I may quote the following:

1. In MhD. 54, 1 there stands: *pa guft i vāyayārcar nipišt*, i.e., as a saying, a sentence by *Vāyayārcar* (see p. 64, note 2) it is noted, quoted; and MhD. 55, 1 we similarly read: *pa guft i dast_owarān nipišt*.—2. MhD. 98, 1 = A. 16, 14 f. bears: *vahrām hač pusānvēh i āzātmartān bē guft*, i.e. by *Vahrām* it is quoted from *Pusānvēh i Āzātmartān*, and MhDA. 9, 5: *vahrām hač vahrāmšāt u rātōhrmazd bē ētōn guft*, i.e. by *Vahrām* the following is quoted from *Vahrāmšāt*¹ and *Rātōhrmazd*; *Vahrām* is obviously the author of some learned work regarding legal decisions, which has served as one of the principal sources to *Farroa* in *Vahrāmān*, the author of the MhD. for his compilatory work.

2.  *hamēmār*: cf. for the transcription and the etymology (*ham-ēmār*) SL. I. 22, note. The word means,—as opposed to *pēšēmār* "the one who has the precedence of speech [before the court], that is, the plaintiff, and *pasēmār* "who has afterwards the word",

1 A lawyer seldom quoted; see p. 70, note 1, and p. 69, ll. 12-13.

INDICES

A. Passages.

LIST OF PASSAGES TRANSLATED AND DISCUSSED.

I. Middle Persian			DkM. 712. 12		
A. MpB.			17		
AVn. 56.	4	57	14	51	
DkM. 17.	18	60 note	713. 20	31 note	
343.	6	46	718. 3	18, 54,	
344.	2	49	743. 12	12 note, 51	
404.	9	65 note	745. 12	65 note	
454.	7	10	761. 18	17	
517.	7, 8, 11,	65 note	771. 17 22	51	
583.	22	65 note	790. 6 f.	12 note	
584.	1, 2, 4, 6	65 note	861. 16 f.	44	
644.	16 ff.	9	18	12 note	
701.	16	6	893. 16 f.	8, 11 note	
704.	15	45	22	12 note	
706.	14	20 note	894. 1, 5, 8, 9	12 note	
706.	15	45	2	17	
	20	6	926. 14	12 note	
707.	6	8	927. 2	12 note	
	8	51	928. 12, 17	70 note	
709.	15	8	MhD. 2. 11 f.	21	
	19 f.	17, 17 note	15	14 note	
	21	12	3. 7 f.	12 note	
710.	1	51	4. 17	54 note	
711.	7 f.	44, 49	5. 3 ff.	62	
	8	8	4	64 note	
	9	7	5 ff.	63 ff.	
	10	51	9 f.	20 ff.	
			6. 2 ff.	3, 41	

MhD. 6. 4 f. 59
 5 f. 30f, 41
 6 24
 6 ff. 4 note, 61, 64f.
 8 73
 10 68
 11 f. 32 note, 58, 66
 12 53, 54 note
 7. 3 f. 68
 15 ff. 66
 8. 2 53
 10. 3 70
 13. 1 16
 13. 1 ff. 14
 2, 3, 5, 8, } 24
 12, 15 }
 2 f. 14, 42,
 3 20, 27, 42
 5 20, 27, 42,
 6 ff. 30, 38,
 8 29
 8 ff. 38
 9 13, 30
 10 f. 21
 12 27, 38,
 15 ff. 18
 14 53
 15 18, 22f.
 16 69
 16 ff. 4
 14. 1 30,
 2 ff., 13 f. 22
 2, 4, 5 f. 24
 3 29
 4 40
 5 ff. 4, 40
 6 40
 7 41
 7 ff. 4 note 32 ff, 53
 10, 12, 15f. 30
 10 ff. 37

MhD. 14. 14, 16 37 note
 14 f. 37 note
 15 30
 16 37 note, 38
 15. 1 52
 2 ff, 31 note, 34
 12ff, 4 note, 32, 53
 14 37 note, 73
 16. 2 34
 14ff, 18, 34, 58
 15, 17 53
 23. 1 64 note
 9 24 note
 30. 7 73
 31. 4 64 note
 32. 12 f. 27
 34. 6 73
 54. 1 64 note
 55. 1 71
 60. 2, 6, 7 34
 7 f. 22, 35 note
 8 21
 10 ff. 41
 11, 12, 15 41
 16 f. 34
 61. 6 36 note
 9 f. 34
 11 f. 35
 67. 8 69
 15 69
 69. 16 69
 70. 13 69
 72. 12 52
 76. 6 69
 7 24, 29
 7 f. 50
 8 39
 77. 9 f. 55
 10 53
 78. 6 52
 15 ff. 15
 16 13, 15

B. Words.

I. PAHLAVI IN TRANSCRIPTION

A. MpB.

aydēn 34
 angōšūtal 60
 ayāwār, ayār 72
 āyirihāt 58
 āpānōmand 20
 āngōn 60
 āng nīhūt[ak] 60
 ētonīh 59
 ētōnīhēt 60
 ēvar, ēvarīh 42, 43, 43 note
 tašt 18, 22
 tāk 27
 dast, warān 69 ff.
 dast, warīh 68
 dāt, war 12 note
 duwer 65 note
 dūtak 34
 patūrist, pat, grift 57
 pasēmār 71
 pātan, pāyēt 47
 pātīrān, ōrānīh 44 ff.
 pātīrānēnītan 45
 pēsemār 71
 bavandak 41 ff.
 bētom 69
 nīkīrīšn 43, 52.
 nīkīrītan 52.
 niyāyīšn 59
 mart 34
 var 6 ff.
 varōmand 43
 varīk 12, 51
 cartēnītan 66
 viyirāy 53, 67 note
 vičurt 45
 vēh, vēhtar 36
 vēhdāt, stāntar 19, 30, 42
 sardār 49
 hamēmār 71 ff.

xūp, xūptar 36
 x'astūk 53
 x'astakdār 36

Āturpāt 7
 Pusānvēh 6
 i Āzātmartān 14, 71
 Farroxx i Vahrāmān 71
 Farroxx zorvān 14
 Yuvānyim 70 note
 Vahrām 3, 41, 71
 Vahrāmšāt 69, 71, 71 note
 Vāyayāwār 64, 64 note, 71
 Rāt 69
 Rātōhrmazd 71
 Syāvaš 69

apartom vičīrkar 12 note
 apāč guftan 59
 andar estātan 66
 uzēnak i pa nāmāk pasāč 15
 ētōnīh i x'ēš 59
 katak x'atāy 32
 kār nēst 54 note
 garmūk var[īh] 6
 tožīšn i pīlarān 14
 dāt, war i kas, i mas 12 note
 dāt, stān pa var 4, 29, 52
 bē var mat 29
 dēnik var 16
 dūtak sardār 33, 33, note
 pa tožīšn nē bavandak 41
 pa var guftan 21
 pa var vēhdāt, stāntar 19,
 30 ff., 42
 pa vičīr i dāt, warān 37,
 37 note
 pa 3 gowīšn[īh] 21, 35 note
 pašt dāt x'aš 30
 pātīrānīh i var 45, 49
 pātīrān šusr 45
 pus i andar dūtak 34

bar pätirān kunišn 49 note
bē ō, bē hač 69 ff
frōttar dāt, war 12 note
nāmak pasāč 15
nīrang i var 12
nē pāt, xšāy bē ka ... 66
mart i šahr 34, 36
yazišn nāmak 50
 i pa var 49
yazišn—goučišn 49 note
yastan — guftan 49
var i garm 6
 gāh 51
 dātan 38 f.
 i dēnik 16 f.
 i pa nāmak pasāč, 15
 pa nē ētōnīh 20, 40, 42,
 pa nē dānom 20, 42
 nē dān, st 20, 42
 nē x'ēših 4, 40
 i pa markaržān 17 note
 pasāxtan 9
 i pa sōkand 12f, 23, 30
 i pād nisān 13
bavandak 41
nimūtār 50 note
varzitan 8 ff, 24 ff.
rāyēnītan 51
rāyēnišn 51
saxt u asaxt-č 17
i sart 7
sardār 43
 x'āstan 51
sōkand x'artan 8, 12
žan i šahr 36,
hač — bē 5 note, 69 ff.
hač ān bē 70 note
hač dast, warān bē 69
hač dūtak 34
hamēmār bavēt 73
x'astūk bavēt 54

PAHALVI IN ORIGINAL SCRIPT.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *niyāyišn* 59
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 14

𐭠𐭣 = *ān* 46 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *viyērāy* 53 ff.
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *nikūrišn* 52 ff, 59 ff.
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 45
 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *duwr* 65 note
 𐭠𐭣, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 65 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *āngōn* 60
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 60
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 44 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *hat* 62
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *aydēn* 34
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 20, 20 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *āyīrīhāt* 58
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *guft* 69 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥 29 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥 69
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *bētom* 69
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tašt* 18 ff.
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 65 f.
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xrītārīh*

B. MpT.

bēdom 69
nigāyām 13

C. MS.

niyarāyat 59

II. Old Iranian.

A. Avesta.

apayasaiti 45
a-ra- 47 note
asa- 47 note
āyairyāt 58

āpəm saokəntavaitim 11
karša- 52
garəməum 6 note
garəmə.varah- 6
taštəm zaodro.baranəm 22
dasra- 47 note
pairišta.xšudra- 45
pairistāyeiti 45
varah 6
 — 47 note

III. New Iranian

A. New Persian

bāz guftan 59
dastūr 68
dōl 65 note
raxšanda 48 note
saugand 'oath' 9
 xurdan 8
 dādan 39
gōr 'tomb' 65 note
nigāridan 52

B. Afy.

saugand xvaral 8 note

C. Kurdish.

süënd xwārdin 39 note
dān 39

IV. Ancient Indian.

ā gāsi 59
gūrtā-, grnā-ti 59
tathātvam- 59
damsas- 47 note
dasra- 47 note
divya- 11 note
ningāyati 59
vi-gāyati 58
 brav-iti 58
 vad-ati 58
 vāc-ah 58
rakṣati 48 note
śapatha- 11 note, 23
hrdayadivya- 7

V. Other languages.

Church Slav, *dubru* 65 note
 Gr. ἀλέω 48 note
 Lat. *grātus* 59

C. Subjects.

I. JURISPRUDENCE.

Advocate's right to perform the *var* 16

Certa Verba

Complaint about property 13, 21
 decision through oath 29f.

Citizen 34f

Citizen, the, on whom a thing is bestowed 35.

Classes of judges 12 note

Declaration in court:
 not confirmed by oath 21
 to state on oath 21
 "turning" of the evidence 66
 with three-wordedness 22

Divine judgment, divine justice Cf. *var.*
 and oath 7f.
 Fire Ordeal 7.
 Ordeal, 7f
 Water ordeal 7

Examination (investigation) of the evidence (proof) 4, 52
 Hearing of Witnesses 5, 52f.
 Heir, the 36
 Oath (cf. *var*) 7ff
 and divine judgment 6ff
 comes true; of exactness 59
 confirmation with "three words" 22, 35 note
 decision through 30
 in special cases the plaintiff's right to take oath 31
 instruction for taking the oath 50
 nearer to be proving by 30
 on ignorance of the facts asserted 27
 on 'untruthfulness' 10, 14n, 16, 20, 40
 protest against taking oath 28, 38
 reading out of the 50
 reciting of the 50
 taken conjointly 23
 the right of taking belongs to the defendant 30

Oath
 to apply to them the 38
 (to deliver stating) 'I do not know' 14, 20, 27, 42
 to record in writing 50
 to take 8
 to urge on 51
 Offering guaranties in case of sale 61
 Pending debts 14, 53
 Plaintiff and Defendant 71
 Possessor (of a fact) 71
 Right of disposal 68
 Son of the family, the 34
Var (Cf. oath, divine judgment) 33 kinds of 9
 Different conjectures of 15
 on the bowl of holy water 18, 23
 with the sulphur water 11f.

II. OTHER SUBJECTS

Miracle of Jamsīd 7 note
 Misplacement of meaning Brimstone (water) oath 8ff
 Number 11 its significance 10 note

